EIGHT CENTURIES OF TROUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES

The Changing Identity of Medieval Music

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521826723

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First published in print format 2004

ISBN-13 978-0-511-21038-9 eBook (EBL)
ISBN-10 0-511-21215-1 eBook (EBL)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-82672-3 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-82672-1 hardback

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Acknowledgements

Most of this book was written during my tenure at Shorter College in north-west Georgia (USA). Those who have undertaken such a project at an institution not primarily designed for research can appreciate the measure of my gratitude not only towards head librarian Kimmetha Herndon but especially to two inter-library loan specialists, Karen Simpkins and Julie Harwell. With unfailing cheer and persistence, Karen and Julie bore the weight of my many inter-library loan requests, often at the rate of several items a day. I would also like to thank Harold Newman, provost of the college, for a summer travel stipend in the summer of 2001. I certainly could not have finished this book in time without the help of Anna Davis, my research assistant at Shorter for three years, whose diligent work is scattered throughout the following pages. I would also like to thank the staff of the Robert Woodruff, Pitts Theology and Heilbrun Music and Media libraries at Emory University in Atlanta, who helped me during my frequent visits there.

Amount and quality of research is often at the mercy of individuals as well as grant committees, and my own research profited from several beyond those already mentioned. I would like to first thank Michel Laisné of the Dieppe Médiathèque Municipale for sending me a newspaper clipping in April 1995 of which it could be fairly said that it launched this book into existence. That same year, Jacques Chailley kindly confirmed my suspicions surrounding Pierre Aubry's death; my only regret is that I was unable to thank him in person before his own passing. I would also like to thank Robert Chapel of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Nathalie Cousin at the Sorbonne Music Library and Benoît Thériault of the Canadian Museum of Civilization for their archival assistance at early stages. I am also grateful to Marie-Louise Lippincott and Thomas Dalzell, daughter and grandson of Jean Beck, for sharing invaluable information with me. I spent the summer of 2000 working at the University of Göttingen, thanks to a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst stipend. Göttingen's

outstanding collection of early modern books helped me lay the foundation for chapters 2 and 3, and I could not have begun or pursued detailed work on Friedrich Ludwig's Nachlaß without the untiring help of librarian Bärbel Mund. An Institut Français de Washington Gilbert Chinard Fellowship allowed me to travel to Paris, Marseille and Toulouse in the summer of 2001. During that same summer, for their hospitality in Marseille I would like to thank the Messaoudène family and Caroline Bonheur (manager of *Massilia Sound System*), my parents John F. and Margaret Haines for assistance in Toulouse and Paris, and for assistance in Provins, Véronique Le Foll (of Provins' Office de tourisme) and Gérard Lobot (principal of the Lycée Thibaut Champagne). Over the last five years, I have become especially indebted to the efficient staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. At the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, I profited from Danielle Muzerelle's expertise in many areas, including eighteenth-century watermarks. Finally, in the summer of 2002 a National Endowment for the Arts summer fellowship enabled me to complete the finishing touches on the book in Paris.

Along the way, I have profited from interactions with several scholars, but especially Elizabeth Aubrey, Anna Maria Busse Berger, Patricia DeWitt, Mark Everist, Daniel Heartz, Andrew Hughes, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Gérard Le Vot, Robert Lug, Martin Staehelin, Mark Taylor, Edith Weber and William Weber. Of these, this book owes its greatest debt to Elizabeth Aubrey's model work and her unstinting generosity and to Robert Lug's hospitality and insight. It was a happy coincidence which led Mark Taylor to Berry College in the autumn of 1998, thus making possible many musico-literary discussions on the troubadours in the unlikely setting of north-west Georgia. Mark Everist and Robert Lug critiqued drafts of this book, for which I am deeply grateful. I would also like to thank David Ogborn and Jamie Younkin for their assistance with the musical examples and figures.

My first and last acknowledgement is reserved for my dear friend and wife Dorothy Haines whom I thank for her companionship and continuing education in writing and the English language – essential ingredients to my completing this book.

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April 2003

Introduction

When I first set out to find out more about the death of musicologist Pierre Aubry, I never imagined it would lead to this book. At best, my immoderate curiosity about a footnote-sized anecdote might grow into a single publication of interest to a handful of medieval musicologists old enough to remember some vague story about two scholars who nearly duelled in 1910. It did. My article relating these findings was published in 1997, and I assumed then that I would promptly leave behind this dust on academic dust for more important research directly related to medieval music.[1]

But after making a string of apparently unrelated discoveries, most deriving from personal correspondence and work notes, I was drawn to the broader context surrounding Aubry's fencing death and realized that there was more to this story than faulty rumours about an academic duel. The various details shaped a longer narrative which began to answer another question that had occurred to me before my interest in the Beck–Aubry affair: why was rhythm considered so important in medieval song? In reading the secondary literature on the troubadours and trouvères, I found that the issue of rhythm frequently came up; the topic was either lengthily discussed (mostly earlier writers) or cautiously avoided (mostly recent writers). Either way, the 'rhythm question' loomed over the subject of French medieval song, and few stopped to ask why, although many wrote to explain how. Finding out why rhythm had taken on such importance – and ultimately the whole explanation of Aubry's death – took me back further than even the early nineteenth century, and eventually reaching the Middle Ages, the beginning point of both medieval music and its reception. I realized a proper answer would require a historiography which included writers and readers, players and listeners outside official historical turf. That is basically how this book came into being, as a rather long answer to a simple question. It is not a definitive answer, neither is it the only possible one, and I hope that it will receive further refinements.

I believe that this kind of study is at least two decades overdue, and I suspect it would have been written at some point by someone.[2] Throughout this book, I have made use of reader-response and reception theories, which are well known especially to students of literature.[3] Rather than emphasizing the author of a given text, these lay stress on its various readers as contributing to its meaning or even its existence. As Hans-Robert Jauss, one of the founders of *Rezeptionkritik*, has argued:[4]

> A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period. . . . It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a contemporary audience.

Each reader brings to the text his or her own 'horizon of expectation' (*Erwartungshorizont*), as Jauss has put it, and redefines it to fit within the parameters of this horizon. The text therefore differs with each group of readers; history shapes literature. Another eminent reception theorist, Wolfgang Iser, has written of the 'text as an event',[5] a simile which, if perhaps striking in a strictly literary context, actually better fits musical texts, which are usually intended for, or at least imagined as, performances.

Reception theory is especially pertinent to the field of medieval music. One of the characteristics of medieval texts is their prediliction for different interpretations of a single work, or what one writer has called, in a term which has unfortunately nearly become a cliché, *mouvance*.[6] Medieval musical texts can claim the further advantage of orality, as products of societies which were far less dependent on writing than ours. Add to this the distance of the Middle Ages, its continuing lore in contemporary life, and the evanescence of ancient musical traditions, and we have in received medieval song a treasure of multiple and contrasting horizons of expectations. One might even say that reader-response theory arises naturally from medieval art. For example, early medievalist Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye expressed a similar insight when he noted that medieval *romances* varied according to the royal audience which the narrator was seeking to please, and that this was also a feature of similar works closer to his time such as *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678) which pandered to Louis XIV by evoking the glory days of Henri III.[7] It should come as no surprise that Jauss, for instance, was first a student of medieval literature before becoming a founding member of the Constance school of *Rezeptionkritik*.[8]

For some time already, reception theory has infiltrated musicology, where, as Mark Everist has pointed out, it has tended in its worst moments to reproduce uncritically journalistic criticism of famous works.[9] Indeed,

musicological work in reception has focused on well-known composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven. Already in the 1920s, Arnold Schmitz was distinguishing between the 'real' Beethoven and his mythical, Romantic image; henceforth, it was necessary to strip the latter away to reveal the former.[10] From the 1970s on, *Beethoven-Rezeption* became an official label. The real Beethoven became elusive, always filtered through and perhaps even just the sum total of his various receptions. So dependent has this composer become on his reception that Scott Burnham has recently dared suggest that 'perhaps Beethoven will go out of fashion for the next two hundred years'.[11] The importance of Beethoven reception studies to medieval music is that they reveal the degree to which musical repertoires are shaped by cultural forces. If this is the case in the relatively short span from Beethoven's death to our time, how much more for repertoires which have experienced over 800 years of reception? The change in the musical interpretation of Beethoven's music pales by comparison to that of troubadour and trouvère song, where two different receptions can sometimes lead to two very different works, as illustrated throughout this book. While Beethoven's music will more than likely be heard in one shape or the other several hundred years from now, entire medieval works, such as many troubadour songs or trouvère refrains, are forever lost. Other music, such as certain lais attached to the Tristan and Isolde story, whose power we are told in their time was so great that it brought performer and audience to tears, are now practically ignored even though about a dozen survive.[12]

Considering the interest in reception since the 1970s, it is something of a surprise that studies in the reception of medieval music have taken so long to appear. To be sure, scholars in all fields of medieval music have long been concerned with its interpretation, but this has usually been confined to a preface in the context of a study on the repertoire in question.[13] Of all areas of medieval music, certainly the one with the greatest potential in the application of reception, simply because it is the largest repertoire, is that of plainchant. It is no wonder that forays into medieval music reception in the 1990s have begun with plainchant, and have focused on one of the most colourful periods of its historiography, the nineteenth century.[14] These have initiated, but by no means exhausted, a broader field of medieval music reception.

The troubadour and trouvère repertoires offer singular advantages in developing a reception of medieval music. First, they are much smaller repertoires than chant, and therefore manageable in a single study which proposes to survey eight centuries. They are also limited geographically; a good deal of my study concerns mainly French writers and readers. By their

very vernacular nature, these songs are therefore more explicitly connected to nationalistic causes. At the same time, the two different repertoires offer clear geographic and nationalistic contrasts which a single body of music might not. For instance, the 'querelle des troubadours et trouvères' discussed in chapter 3 pits north against south and puts into clear focus the importance of French regional disputes for the historiography of music in a way not found in plainchant of that same period. The reception of these repertoires also offers idiosyncratic problems which differ from those of plainchant. For example, the historiography of trouvère songs is interconnected with that of vernacular polyphony; this relationship leads to particular interpretations of troubadour and trouvère song, from Enlightenment trouvère harmonizations to early Romantic interpretations according to mensural principles. It is not enough just to say, as one interlocutor recently put it to me, that 'well, everyone just interpreted trouvère music differently at different times'. That may be true, but it is a mere suggestion of a story which is, I think, worth knowing in its full details. The web of receptions of these fascinating medieval repertoires has long deserved a closer scrutiny than previously granted.

As I have already suggested, I see nationalism as playing a definitive role in the reception of French vernacular monophony. If defined as 'loyalty to . . . one's national state', nationalism is largely a product of the late eighteenth century.[15] Indeed, medieval song has played a role in the emergence of modern nationalism, most notably in the work of Johann Gottfried Herder, discussed in chapter 3. But if we define nationalism more broadly as certain groups' 'specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups',[16] then it is a force which existed long before this time. In his classic study *France: A Nation of Patriots*, Roland Hayes has emphasized that French nationalism did not suddenly appear but was apparent in the Middle Ages and had already reached a high point by the time of Louis XIV.[17] Nationalism of one kind or another runs through the narrative I propose here: the genesis of troubadour and trouvère art begins with regional French dialogues which, from the sixteenth century on, are expanded to Italy, Germany, the United States and other lands.

In conclusion, I must confess to having entered my topic in an unusual and even incorrect way. As one German scholar told me recently, 'I thought these sorts of things one saved for later on in one's career as a medievalist'. He was right of course, and the recent spate of medieval music reception literature confirms this: Anna Maria Busse Berger, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and Elizabeth Aubrey are just a few whose study of medieval music reception

was prompted by first reading these interpretations as secondary literature on a primary topic.[18] What their work has begun to suggest is that medieval music for us consists of the total sum of its various perceptions and receptions. That is to say, the reception *is* the music. My reception narrative takes place for the most part in times outside the Middle Ages, where there is more talk of printed notes and piano accompaniments than scribes or harps. But the former have much more to do with our Middle Ages than we often care to admit. Medieval music comes to all of us first as an impression, unacknowledged or not, and that impression is the result of a lengthy reception process. I have written this book first to understand my own impressions of medieval music. If I have wandered away from the Middle Ages for a time, I hope to have returned equipped with a clearer sense of those many things which for me constitute the music of the troubadours and trouvères.

NOTES

1. John Haines, 'The "Modal Theory", Fencing, and the Death of Pierre Aubry', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997), 143–50.
2. Something of a much abridged version of this book appeared in 1995: Margaret Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400* (New York: Garland, 1995), 27–37. However, Switten's is a sweeping historiography limited to mostly academic reception, and encompassing both literary and musical aspects of monophonic and polyphonic French repertoires up until the fourteenth century. See also Robert Lug's historiographic synopsis entitled 'Drei Jahrhunderte Transkriptionen: Eine Bestandsaufnahme' in his forthcoming *Der Chansonnier de Saint-Germain des Prés (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f. fr. 20050): Edition seiner Melodien mit Analysen zur 'vormodalen' Notation des 13. Jahrhunderts und einer Transkriptionsgeschichte des europäischen Minnesangs* (Peter Lang), vol. 1, section CI.
3. See Robert Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1984), chapter 3.
4. Hans-Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bathi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 21; a bibliographic synopsis of Jauss' important lecture is found in Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 382, note 15.
5. Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 125.
6. Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

7. Jean-Baptiste de Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie, considérée comme un établissement politique et militaire* (Paris: Duchesne, 1759), vol. 2, 123–32; cf. Iser's similar comments on eighteenth-century writer Laurence Sterne in his *Act of Reading*, 108.
8. See Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur: Gesammelte Aufsätze 1956–1976* (Munich: W. Fink, 1977); and Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic*, chapter 3.
9. Everist, 'Reception Theories', 381. Already in the late 1960s, Carl Dahlhaus could write of the upsurge of interest in reception history; see his *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 150.
10. Arnold Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1927).
11. Scott Burnham, 'The Four Ages of Beethoven: Critical Reception and the Canonic Composer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 272.
12. See John Haines, 'Espaces musico-poétiques dans le Roman du Tristan en Prose', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, forthcoming.
13. See for example, chapter 4, note 6.
14. See K. A. Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878–1903: The Cecilian Reform Movement* (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1995); Ruth Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).
15. Louis Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), 246.
16. Max Weber as cited in Peter Alter, *Nationalism*, 2nd edn (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 6.
17. Roland Hayes, *France: A Nation of Patriots* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 3.
18. See Anna Maria Busse Berger, 'Friedrich Ludwig, Jacques Handschin and the Agenda of Medieval Musicology', in *Perspektiven auf die Musik vor 1600: Beiträge vom Symposium Neustift/Novacella 1998* (Hildesheim, forthcoming); Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies in the Hands of Bibliophiles of the *Ancien Régime*', in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 17–34; and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

CHAPTER I

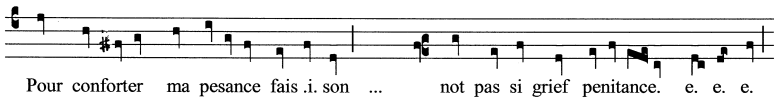
The first readers

> Deficit quia deficiebat in exemplari.
>
> Troubadour chansonnier R, fol. 111v, lower margin[1]

> Quot sunt notatores, tot sunt novarum inventores figurarum.
>
> Walter Odington, *De speculatione musice*[2]

Sometime in the last three decades of the thirteenth century, two medieval scribes sat down to write the melody for the song 'Pour conforter ma pesance' by Thibaut IV count of Champagne and king of Navarre, then some thirty years deceased. The one we may call scribe T was writing in the Artois region of France while scribe O was located further south-west, most likely Burgundy or the Isle de France.[3] Despite their geographic distance, these two readings are remarkably similar in pitch, something which we might expect given the relative closeness of these scribes to Thibaut's time. But this is not so for their rhythmic interpretations of Thibaut's melody. Scribe O, who has a decided tendency to interpret trouvère songs rhythmically by indicating long and short values, has here abstained from doing so (example 1.1), while scribe T, who elsewhere does not give rhythmic values, has done so in this case (example 1.2); his reading clearly alternates long and short values, creating a rhythmic pattern called a 'mode' (*modus*) by medieval theorists. For some reason, for this particular song, both music scribes decided to change their habits, switching rhythmic camps, so to speak. Clearly, at the end of the thirteenth century, not only were there different ways of writing and reading trouvère song, but these differences were not always as predictable as they may seem.

These medieval scribes were not just mechanically copying the music for which they were responsible. They were interpreting it, refashioning it to fit the book being compiled. Already for them this was old music, already their perspective differed substantially from those who had first performed these songs, and already these scribes interpreted these melodies using new rhythmic notation. It is sometimes assumed that medieval music lay buried



Example 1.1: Beginning and ending of O's reading of 'Pour conforter ma pesance' (fol. 95r)



Example 1.2: Beginning and ending of T's reading of 'Pour conforter ma pesance' (fol. 4r)

in its manuscripts until it was unearthed and read in the nineteenth century. But the first interpreters of troubadour and trouvère music, which flourished between 1100 and 1250, were its medieval readers. Such was the case for scribes O and T in the late thirteenth century. By the early fourteenth century, literary audiences were appropriating the musical heritage of the troubadours and trouvères in several ways. Legends about them were written down, some of which gave prominence to their musical abilities. Other readers assimilated their musical style, and occasionally their melodies, in the new polyphonic motet. By far the most important written interpretations of troubadour and trouvère music are the many song collections compiled between 1230 and the early fourteenth century. Called chansonniers from the late eighteenth century on, they represent idiosyncratic late medieval interpretations of melodies which were more often than not over a century old, or at least, as in the example described above, several decades old.[4] Before considering how the chansonniers transform this earlier music, it will be useful to give a brief overview of the southern troubadours and their northern followers the trouvères, and to introduce some of the chansonnier melodies which we will encounter again in subsequent chapters.

The earliest troubadour songs are unknown. Their initial inspiration, first creators, performers and melodies all belong to a period which predates extant sources. Songs in Old Occitan had probably been created for some time before the first troubadour whose poems have survived, Guilhem (William) VII count of Poitiers, IX duke of Aquitaine (1071–1126), came on the scene. This nobleman was a singer as well as a poet, so his biography assures us: 'saup ben trobar e cantar' ('he knew how to create poetry and sing'). The sophisticated style and subtle allusions to earlier works in Guilhem's surviving eleven poems suggest that *trobar* ('finding' or composing) and *cantar* (singing) in Old Occitan were already well-established traditions before his time. It is unfortunately typical of early troubadour song transmission that none of Guilhem's melodies has survived. Things


Quan vei laloete moder. de
ioi ses ales *con*tre al rai. que
soublide et laisse cader. per la doucor quel
cor li vai. he! tan granz envide men pre*n*
de co quest si en jausion. miravill me qu*e*
nies del sen. et cor de desirrier non fon.

[When I see the lark joyfully fluttering its wings against the sun ray, so much that it forgets itself and falls from the sweetness which enters its heart– ah! I am seized with such a great envy of those who are so joyful! It is a wonder that my mind and heart do not melt with desire.]

Example 1.3: Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Quan vei l'aloete moder' (W, fol. 190/B180v)

are only slightly better for the next generation of troubadours, Jaufre Rudel and Marcabru, from Poitou and Gascogne respectively, for whom only a handful of melodies each survive.[5]

Sources are musically richer for poets from the second half of the twelfth century, by which time the Occitan *art de trobar* had spread to other parts of southern France such as Provence. The adherents of the *art de trobar* are many and varied during this rich period for troubadour song, the end of the twelfth century, from the pauper turned courtier Bernart de Ventadorn to the merchant turned bishop Folquet de Marselha. We may classify the intense artistic activity of this time into two extremes of musico-poetic style, *trobar leu* and *trobar clus*. Although not all-inclusive, this distinction provides a helpful initial approach into the rich musical world of the troubadours.[6] The simpler *trobar leu* ('light' or 'easy') is seen in the opening lines of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (PC 70,43) – here spelt 'Quan vei l'aloete moder' by a northern scribe. The melody given in example 1.3 is taken from troubadour chansonnier W


Lo ferm voler quiz el cor min
tra. non pot ges becx escon*s*cendre
ni ungla. de lausengier q*ue* p*er*d per
mal dir sarma. e car no laus batre
ab ram ni ab veria. si vals a frau
lai on n*on* aura uncle. iauzirai ioi
en verzer o dinz chambra.

[The firm desire which enters my heart can never be destroyed by beak or nail of the slanderer who loses his soul by his evil speech. And since I dare not beat him with branch or stick, at least in hiding, where I will have no uncle, I shall rejoice in joy, in an orchard or in a chamber.]

Example 1.4: Arnaut Daniel's 'Lo ferm voler' (G, fol. 73r)

written about a century after the song was composed (see table 1.1 below; troubadour chansonniers sigla follow Pillet and Carstens' bibliography).[7] This and the remaining transcriptions in this chapter approximate the manuscript's musical notation and follow its line divisions; only the first strophe is notated, as is the case for most songs.

The straightforward simile between the poet's passion and the restless lark is matched by the sinuous melody which nonetheless rests firmly on D, the end point of its middle and final cadences. Though it is free of strict phrasial repetition, this memorable melody nonetheless is the perfect, improvised expression of Bernart's boundless desire, of his *trobar leu*. Compare the plain pathos of this song with the virtuosic cool of the *trobar clus* ('closed'),


L autrier iustuna sebissa trobey pastora mestissa. de
ioi e de sen massissa. e fon filha de vilaina. cape gonela pelissa
vest e camiza tressissa soslars e causas de laina. ¶ Ves lieys vau

[The other day beside a hedge, I found a lowly shepherdess filled with joy and sense; she was the daughter of a peasant woman. Cape, cloak and fur she wore, and a cloth shirt, shoes and hose of wool. Towards her I went ...]

Example 1.5: Marcabru's *pastorela* 'L'autrier jost' una sebissa' (R, fol. 5r)

filled with subtlety and word play. One of its chief representatives is Arnaut Daniel. Transcribed in example 1.4 is the opening strophe of his so-called *sestina* 'Lo ferm voler' (PC 29,14), from chansonnier G (see table 1.1), dated over a hundred years after Arnaut died.

The apparent simplicity of this tune is deceiving. In this song's subsequent six strophes, Arnaut shifts each one of these rhyme words around according to a complex scheme, finally pairing them thus in the final half-strophe: *ungla* / *uncle*, *virga* / *arma* and *chambra* / *intra*. The melody likewise pairs its cadences (G/G, F/F and C/C), a subtle structure which emphasizes the song's *clus* nature.[9] The so-called classical period of the troubadours just summarized came to an abrupt end with the war of Capetian aggression, the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29).[10]

Already by the last third of the twelfth century, the *art de trobar* had found imitators in northern France. A vital and independent trouvère tradition developed in the course of the thirteenth century, spreading from the Loire to the Lowlands. Some aspects of Old Occitan poetry were imported directly into the dialects of Old French: the *alba* became the *aube* and the *pastorela* became the *pastourelle*, for instance. Certain stylistic features of these genres were carried over as well, such as the *pastorela*'s stereotypical opening scene – a knight propositioning a shepherdess – set to a simple, infectious tune. For comparison, example 1.5 is Marcabru's 'L'autrier jost' una sebissa' (PC 293,30), the earliest known *pastorela*, codified in chansonnier R about a century and a half after the troubadour's death (see table 1.1).[11] Compare this with the anonymous Old French *pastourelle*

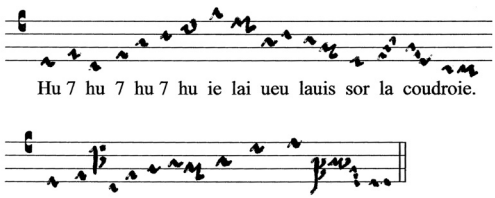

L autrier quant ie che
vauchoie. desouz l'onbre du*n*
prael. trouvai gentil pastore
le. les euz verz le chief blon
del. vestue dun bliaudel. la
color fresche et vermeille. de
roses fet un chapel.

[The other day as I was riding beneath the shade of a wooded field, I found a nice shepherdess with green eyes and blond hair, wearing a dress. She was red and fresh of colour, her head covered with a crown of roses.]

Example 1.6: Anonymous *pastourelle* 'L'autrier quant chevauchoie' (K, page 376)

'L'autrier quant chevauchoie' (RS 1698a).[12] It opens with a similar scene to the tune of a melody also characterized by repetition. Example 1.6 contains the song transcribed from trouvère chansonnier K (see table 1.2 below).

Despite such similarities, the northern tradition differs from its southern counterpart. The extant chansonniers suggest that the formal variety and experimentation found in the *art de trobar* is less characteristic of the trouvères, who generally exhibit a simpler and sometimes more playful style. An example of this is the use of vocables or simple refrains at the end of strophes, as for instance in the last lines of the anonymous 'Gaite de la



[Hu and hu and hu and hu, I saw him over there under the hazel tree! Hu and hu and hu and hu, I could almost kill him!]

Example 1.7: Refrain of the anonymous 'Gaite de la tor' (U, fol. 83r)

tor' (RS 2015), here transcribed from folio 83r of trouvère chansonnier U (example 1.7). This notation differs from the quadratic style seen so far, and resembles the traditional neumes of plainchant.

There are more general differences between troubadours and trouvères. Although the earlier trouvères such as the Châtelain de Coucy were, like many troubadours, of noble origin, the later generation often came from a clerical or middle class, and inhabited urban centres such as Arras, Lille or Paris. Furthermore, many poets were also authors of lengthy non-musical works: Guiot de Provins wrote his satirical narrative *Bible* and Richart de Fournival, a *Bestiaire d'amour*. This partly explains why so many more trouvère songs were written down, created as they were by literati just as preoccupied with the codification of these songs as with their creation and performance. By the early fourteenth century, this written trouvère song tradition was slowly losing ground to new genres such as the polyphonic rondeau or the *formes fixes*. Polyphonic motets and rondeaux are already present in the work of Adam de la Halle (*c.* 1245–*c.* 1285), considered the last trouvère. After some 200 years of creative activity, the flowering of troubadour and trouvère song was officially over.[13]

THE MEDIEVAL CHANSONNIERS AS FIRST EDITIONS

In what way can the medieval chansonniers be considered the first editions of the troubadours and trouvères? They were not editions in the narrow, modern sense of printed publications, but in the broader meaning of the term common in antiquity and the Middle Ages: *editiones*, announcements or publications, often (though not always) of a written (though of course

not printed) nature. By collecting and editing songs which had only enjoyed a comparatively limited, oral circulation, the chansonniers' compilers gave these songs an unprecedentedly wide dissemination. As seen in the previous examples, most songs were created a century or more before they were codified. It was at the very point of the waning of troubadour and trouvère art in the late thirteenth century that patrons commissioned their songs to be collected in what would later be called chansonniers. Medieval editors culled these prestigious poems from raw sources and presented them in sanitized, ornate versions to readers for whom Guilhem de Poitiers and the Châtelain de Coucy were already distant figures. On the one hand, troubadour and trouvère songs were still living songs, performed to audiences in France and beyond. But as the thirteenth century progressed, these songs became removed from their original context, although they continued to be performed. Increasingly, they were being written down for posterity in books of fine parchment: songs once sung, now stilled by the quill, laid out in long columns of elegant script sprinkled with musical notation.[14]

The production of these chansonniers with musical notation owed much to several important social and economic changes. The first was the expansion of urban centres such as Toulouse and Arras which began in the twelfth century. The erection of new buildings and the renovation of older ones, as well as the establishment of religious orders and professional guilds which included the poetic *Puy*, all testify to Arras' dramatic growth during this period.[15] Toulouse also experienced an urban boom, leading to greater municipal independence, economic prosperity through increased trade, and new buildings such as the cathedral of Saint-Sernin.[16] By the early thirteenth century, immigration from rural areas had transformed these small hamlets of around 1,000 people to fully-fledged towns of around 20,000 inhabitants.[17] Urban growth in turn created a new middle class which produced such troubadours as Folquet de Marselha and Peire Vidal, from banking and merchant families, respectively.[18] Economic vitality reached a high point during the thirteenth century under the reigns of Louis IX and Philip III, both of whom promoted a strong, centralized kingdom. Finally, scholasticism and the new universities generated a vast book production industry as well as improved books equipped with chapter divisions, tables and indexes. So great was the demand for theological texts at the University of Paris, for example, that it was necessary to rent out numbered exemplars.[19] The influence of scholastic books can be seen especially in trouvère chansonnier O's alphabetical ordering and, to a lesser extent, in the table of

contents found in trouvère chansonniers K, M, U and troubadour chansonnier R, for example.

The chansonniers' first readers were just as motivated by an antiquarian curiosity as later readers. Seeking to affirm their status with trophy-books, the emerging *nouveaux riches* as well as the old landed class had chansonniers custom made, books which flattered their ethnic heritage with songs in Occitan and French rather than Latin. Writing centres met this need by producing chansonniers throughout Europe, but especially in northern Italy and north-east France. The production of several extant trouvère chansonniers was concentrated in the Artois region around Arras, as it happens, a main centre of the new merchant class. The two extant musical troubadour codices, on the other hand, were produced in the Languedoc and northern Italy, the latter the home of the majority of troubadour books without musical notation also compiled during this period.

When a patron ordered a chansonnier, the scriptorium obtained what it could of available exemplars or he chose it because they had them already. The exact nature of these exemplars must be extrapolated from other evidence, since none has survived except the small parchment roll discussed below. Surprising similarities in melodic and textual detail exist between certain books such as trouvère chansonniers KNPX or MT, even though their contents are organized slightly differently. From this we understand that the exemplars used for many extant chansonniers were smaller and varied in format: single sheets, single-strophe collections or, in some cases, fully-fledged booklets devoted to a single poet. Some had text and music, others only text, and some possibly had music only. From these disparate sources, compilers created larger books of various sizes, from small booklets to large, illuminated anthologies. It is naturally mostly the latter which survived, for they were more precious. Each hand-made chansonnier provided its own narrative of lyric song especially tailored to its patron's request. Chansonniers M and U bring troubadours and trouvères together, for example. Chansonnier M is unique in also containing motets, most likely to service the Champenois diaspora in Latin Greece of the late 1200s.[20] Two gatherings in source T contain a poetic collection of satire and praise to the Arras community for whom this chansonnier was apparently destined.[21] Compilers of troubadour chansonnier R may have sought to please their Languedocian patrons by devoting a sizeable section to Narbonne native Guiraut Riquier.[22]

One exception to this retrospective trend was the earliest chansonnier U, or troubadour chansonnier X, which Robert Lug has recently dated to

1231, earlier than the hitherto accepted date of around 1240. It has long been known that this book was compiled in Metz. Bringing archival documentation associated with this city to bear on his detailed analysis of the poetic contents of U, Lug has concluded that the book was commissioned by Perrin Noise, a nobleman from Metz, for his bride Helois de Prény-Haussonville on the occasion of their wedding. Chansonnier U was compiled at a time when many troubadour and trouvère songs were still being performed regularly and trouvères such as Gautier de Dargies and Colin Muset were still living. And although its troubadour songs are from an older generation, Lug explains these as Perrin's response to the thriving Occitan diaspora in contemporary Metz. The book's hybrid dialect of Old Occitan and Old French speaks to a unique cultural dynamic of southern and northern elements.[23]

It seems certain that written sources of some kind preceded most of the other extant anthologies, and perhaps even U. Well over a century ago, Gustav Gröber suggested that the chansonniers were compiled from various sources of the kinds just discussed. These were more than likely used along with the existing oral tradition. Unfortunately, little detailed work has been done in this area since the work of Gröber and a few other researchers.[24] Several clues point to a tradition of writing troubadour and trouvère songs before the second half of the thirteenth century. For one, traces of literate transmission are evident in troubadour poems themselves, with their references to writing (*escrire*) and parchment (*parguamina*).[25] The activity of music writing for Old Occitan songs may very well predate the earliest chansonniers by over a century. Three notated liturgical songs including 'O Maria Deu maire' shown in figure 1.1, the first of their kind, survive from the 1090s, at which time Guilhem, still in his twenties, had just inherited the titles of count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine. These songs, the earliest extant melodies in Old Occitan, attest to a musico-literary tradition during this period in Limoges, a short distance up the Vienne river from Poitiers.[26]

Secondly, the chansonniers place several poets and their songs in a hierarchy which suggests that the sources from which they were copied were already ordered this way. This hierarchy is less obvious in our four main troubadour sources, although G, R and W place songs by Folquet de Marselha at or near their beginnings, followed in G and R by sizeable sections devoted to Gaucelm Faidit and Bernart de Ventadorn. Folquet's special position in these French codices at least, may well have been due to his role as a prominent Dominican abbot and northern partisan in the Albigensian crusade. A clearer hierarchy is seen in trouvère chansonniers.

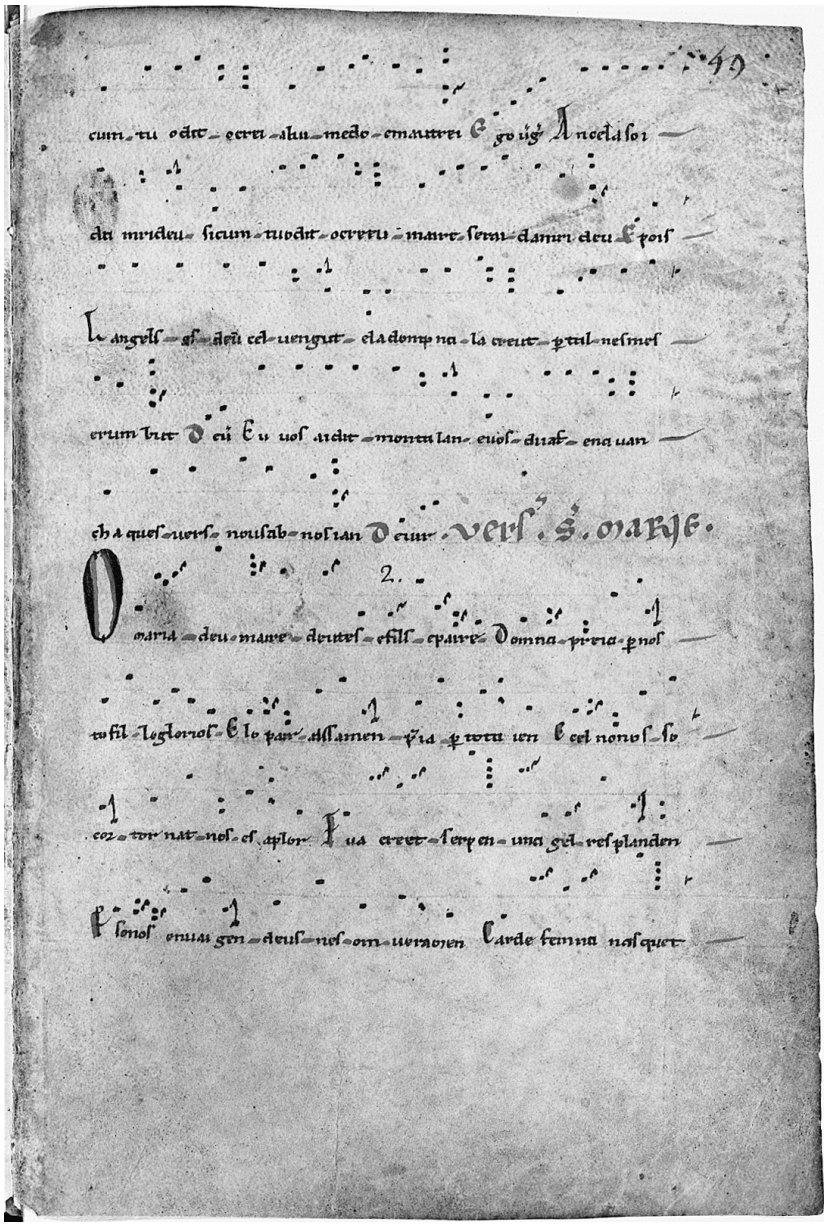


Figure 1.1: Late eleventh-century Marian song in Old Occitan: 'O Maria Deu maire', from Paris, BnF, f. latin 1139, fol. 49r

Seven of the eighteen primary manuscripts place Thibaut de Champagne at or near the beginning, usually with the largest number of songs. The same number of manuscripts follow Thibaut by prominent sections devoted to the following poets, usually in this order: Gace Brulé, the Châtelain de Coucy, and Blondel de Nesle.[27] Moreover, the alphabetically ordered chansonnier O follows this same hierarchy within each one of its letter groupings. It is no coincidence that all four of these poets were prominent members of the aristocracy and therefore had the connections and means to have their songs written down.

This leads me to my final point, for the generous sections devoted to Gace, Thibaut, Adam de la Halle and troubadour Guiraut Riquier especially suggest that separate, bound booklets of their songs probably circulated prior to the period of chansonnier compilation. Chansonnier M presents Thibaut's songs as a separate libellus. From a report in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, it appears that Thibaut was supervising the compilation of his own song collections by at least 1250. The collection, we are told, was entitled *Les Chansons au Roy de Navarre* (see citation discussed below on p. 35). Chansonnier R also hints at the existence of such a collection in its explicit (fol. 184v): 'Explicit les chansons au Roy de Navarre et as autres princes'. Such an explicit is more often found at the conclusion of individual authorial sections within a book rather than at the very end of a chansonnier; in this case, the great Thibaut seems to stand in for all trouvères. This may have guided the artist in chansonnier O, who, in the historiated initial which opens Thibaut de Champagne's 'Pour froidure', depicts a scribe writing on a parchment roll (see figure 1.2). An early fourteenth-century report refers to the widow of Louis X's ownership of a 'Chansonnier de Gace Brulé', which suggests that separate books may have circulated for him as late as 1300.[28] In Guiraut Riquier's case, the chansonnier transmission leads us to postulate a similar situation. One chansonnier refers to a songbook written in Guiraut's own hand ('libre escrig per la sua main'); and the rubrics for his songs in troubadour chansonnier R even provide the date of composition for each song.[29] In this same chansonnier, the note cited at the beginning of this chapter, found at the foot of an empty stave in the Guiraut section, further suggests the use of musical exemplars: 'It [i.e., the melody] is missing because it was not in the source'. As for Adam de la Halle, his songs also are often found in discrete sections of the chansonniers. One of the miniatures of chansonnier A, dated from 1278 at the latest,[30] shows Adam de la Halle writing and erasing, with the rubric 'Adans li bocus fist ces kancons' ('Adam the hunchback made these songs'; see figure 4.2 on p. 172).



Figure 1.2: Scribe writing on a parchment roll: opening miniature for Thibaut de Champagne's 'Pour froidure' in chansonnier O, fol. 94r

By the middle of the thirteenth century, then, the art of writing text and music was closely linked with the lyric song tradition. We can surmise that at least by this time, certain songs were circulating in some form or the other, and that these served as the basis for more luxurious anthologies. The extant chansonniers have survived precisely because they were not like their exemplars, which were more than likely plain and smaller sources such as the unbound libellus and the extant parchment rolls described below.

The variety and number of extant sources bear witness to this complex and lively transmission process. Over 2,500 poems in Old Occitan survive in some thirty primary manuscripts from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[31] A mere 253 poems are transmitted with music, with 322 different melodic readings.[32] Only two troubadour chansonniers, G and R, have musical notation; two Old French sources M (troubadour chansonnier W) and U (troubadour X) also contain troubadour melodies. Beyond these, single Old Occitan melodies survive in a handful of other sources. We may include here some Franco-Occitan hybrids such as chansonnier W's 'L'autrier cuidai aver druda' (PC 461,148), as well as the song 'Dregz de natura' (PC 297,4) found in four fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Breviari d'amore* by Matfre Ermengau (*d.* 1344).[33]

We are more fortunate with the transmission of trouvère music. (For practical purposes, my default siglum will henceforth designate a trouvère chansonnier, troubadour sources only where stated.) Eighteen of the twenty-two major trouvère sources transmit music, a total of about 2,500 melodies with nearly 5,000 readings tallied in table 1.2. Whereas only roughly 10 per cent of troubadour poems survive with a melody, most trouvère poems have music.

Beyond these main manuscripts, twenty-two fragments also survive with forty-eight musical readings, now scattered across European libraries (table 1.3).[34]

To this we may add the manuscript transmission of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, a narrative over 30,000 lines in length with inserted songs. Of the over eighty sources transmitting this work, only twelve have music. All of these manuscripts, like those considered so far, date roughly from the turn of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. For twenty-two songs by Gautier de Coinci, they transmit a total of 153 melodic variants.[35]

We should add to this list 321 musical interpolations, from entire songs to short refrains, in predominantly text works of the thirteenth century (table 1.5). Although these interpolations are not exactly trouvère songs,

Table 1.1. *Extant chansonniers with troubadour melodies*

Siglum	Date	Library shelfmark	Melodies
G	*c.* 1310	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 4	81
R	*c.* 1300	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), fonds français (henceforth ffr) 22543	160
W (trouvère M)	*c.* 1270	Paris, BnF ffr 844	53
X (trouvère U)	1231	Paris, BnF ffr 20050	22
k or η	*c.* 1300	Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 1659	1
(Matfre Ermengau manuscripts)	early 1300s	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2563 & 2583; Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Escorial, S. Lorenzo S. I. 3; Saint Petersburg, Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library, Esp. F. v. XIV. I.	4
Trouvère O	*c.* 1290	Paris, BnF ffr 846 (fol. 125r)	1
		TOTAL = 322	

Table 1.2. *Extant chansonniers with trouvère melodies*

Siglum	Date	Library shelfmark	Melodies
A	*c.* 1270	Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 657	73
B	*c.* 1300	Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, 231	14
F	*c.* 1260	London, British Library (henceforth BL), Egerton 274	19
K	*c.* 1260	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198	481
L	*c.* 1300	Paris, BnF ffr 765	52
M	*c.* 1260	Paris, BnF ffr 844	441
N	*c.* 1280	Paris, BnF ffr 845	392
O	*c.* 1290	Paris, BnF ffr 846	334
P	*c.* 1280	Paris, BnF ffr 847	314
Q	*c.* 1310	Paris, BnF ffr 1109	23
R	*c.* 1300	Paris, BnF ffr 1591	235
T	*c.* 1280	Paris, BnF ffr 12615	373
U	1231	Paris, BnF ffr 20050	92
V	*c.* 1270	Paris, BnF ffr 24406	317
W	*c.* 1300	Paris, BnF ffr 25566	63
X	*c.* 1280	Paris, BnF, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1050	454
Z	*c.* 1300	Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, H.X. 36	101
a	*c.* 1300	Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490	313
		TOTAL = 4091	

Table 1.3. *Trouvère melodies in miscellaneous sources*

Shelfmark	Melodies
Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, A. 421	1
Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 119	1
Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, 113	1
Dublin, Trinity College Library, D. 4. 18 [432]	1
Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Oct. 32	1
Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, lat. fol. 7	4
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliothek 72 J 17	2
London, BL, Arundel 248	3
London, BL, Harley 1717	1
London, BL, Harley 3775	1
London, BL, Royal 12 E.i	1
London, Guildhall, Corporation of London Records Office, Cust. 1	1
London, Public Record Office, E 163/22/1/2	1
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1285	1
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 22	2
Oxford, New College Library, 362	1
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 753	1
Paris, BnF ffr 12483	10
Paris, BnF, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 21677	8
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 1273	1
Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Carinthia, Austria) Stiftsbibliothek, 29.4.3	4
Tournai, Archives, leaf 924a	1
	TOTAL = 48

Table 1.4. *Gautier de Coinci manuscripts with music*

Siglum	Library shelfmark	Melodies
B	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 10747	14
C	London, BL, Harley 4401	12
D, D′	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517–18	18
F	Paris, BnF ffr 986	7
G	Paris, BnF ffr 1530	12
I	Paris, BnF ffr 1536	13
L	Paris, BnF ffr 22928	15
M	Paris, BnF ffr 2163	5
N	Paris, BnF ffr 25532	17
R	Saint Petersburg, Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library, Fr. F. v. XIV 9	17
S	Paris, BnF, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 24541	22
10 bis	London, BL, Egerton 274	1
	TOTAL = 153	

Table 1.5. *Thirteenth-century works with musical interpolations*

Title	Library shelfmark	Melodies
Aucassin et Nicolette (mid-1200s)	Paris, BnF ffr 2168	3
Bataille d'Annezin (late 1200s)	London, BL, Royal 20 A XVII	1
Court de Paradis (late 1200s)	Paris, BnF ffr 25532	17
Histoire de Joseph (early 1200s)	Paris, BnF, nouvelles acqu. françaises 10036	4
Jeu de la feuillee (*c.* 1270)	Paris, BnF ffr 25566	1*
Jeu du pelerin (*c.* 1280)	Paris, BnF ffr 25566	2*
Jeu de Robin et de Marion (*c.* 1280)	Paris, BnF ffr 25566	29*
(*idem*)	Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, 572	29*
Prison d'Amours (*c.* 1250)	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl., 2621	2
Renart le Nouvel (*c.* 1290)	Paris, BnF ffr 372	66*
(*idem*)	Paris, BnF ffr 1581	1
(*idem*)	Paris, BnF ffr 1593	78
(*idem*)	Paris, BnF ffr 25566	65*
Roman de la Poire (*c.* 1250)	Paris, BnF ffr 24431	3*
Roman de Tristan en prose (*c.* 1230)	Paris, BnF ffr 776	3
(*idem*)	Vienna, Österreischische Nationalbibl. 2542	17
		TOTAL = 321

they nonetheless exhibit closely related features, both linguistic and musical.[36] We can exclude from consideration here most works after the early fourteenth century, such as Jean le Court's *Restor du paon*, and, for stylistic more than chronological reasons, the refrains of the *Roman de Fauvel*.[37]

This gives us a total of over 2,800 extant Old French melodies with about 4,600 different readings, compared to 253 Old Occitan melodies with 322 readings, as already mentioned. A complete musical bibliography of troubadour and trouvère song, however, remains to be compiled.[38] Until this task is completed, these figures must be considered provisional.

Such are the known extant sources for troubadour and trouvère song. This total is misleading, however, for we must consider the complex written transmission process described earlier, from the smaller and less elegant sources to the luxurious compendia that were the chansonniers. Our picture of chansonnier production at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will always be far from complete, for many sources – most likely more than have survived – were lost in calamities such as the French Revolution

Table 1.6. *Lost medieval sources with music*

Name	Last cited	After what / whom
Chansonnier de Mesmes / Manuscrit de Roissy	late eighteenth century	owner Henri de Mesmes, lord of Roissy
La Clayette fragment	1770	owner Marquis de Noblet de la Clayette
Metz fragment	1888	location in private home in Metz
Metz manuscript	1944	location in Metz municipal library
Stuttgart fragment	mid-nineteenth century	location in Stuttgart

or the twentieth century's World Wars, to speak only of recent times. Some idea of the ease with which fragmentary sources in particular have slipped out of public notice can be seen in the following anecdotes. In an 1877 report, Alfred Horwood of the British Museum writes: 'At Lambeth Palace are about 50 bags containing ancient documents; and the nature of the contents of these bags not being known, I was requested to examine them. They contain nothing but several hundred parchment and paper rolls.'[39] Horwood goes on to describe his discovery in one of these bags of the only extant parchment roll with trouvère songs, unfortunately, without musical notation. It still survives today, a 115 × 30 mm roll, unfortunately lacking musical notation (Lambeth Palace Library 1681); a neatly wound string 45 mm long hangs from the roll's right side, as if it had been attached to a belt or the like for ease of transportation. The discovery of The Hague fragment in the 1990s is the most recent confirmation that more sources may have yet to be discovered.[40]

As serendipitously as these fragments were found, others were lost. Literary scholar Axel Wallensköld related studying a chansonnier fragment at a private home in Metz in 1888; it contained ten songs, one of which was notated. When he returned over twenty years later, the fragment and its owner could no longer be found.[41] We find a few other references to lost notated sources with music.[42] The most luxurious of these by all accounts was the 'Chansonnier de Mesmes', described by Claude Fauchet in the sixteenth century as the most complete book of its kind; a fortuitous scribble on the margins of extant trouvère chansonnier M tells us that it was still around in the late eighteenth century.[43] If we add to our total extant trouvère chansonniers the books from which came the surviving and lost fragments (tables 1.3 and 1.6), the count is nearly doubled. We may assume

that a few more, if not quite many more, books with melodies have been lost and never described. Kathryn Klingebiel's study of lost troubadour literature reminds us of the many ways in which medieval manuscripts have fallen out of public notice.[44] It is therefore quite likely that the extant sources are only a fragment of a once impressive total.

As I have mentioned, most chansonniers were compiled well after the original musical traditions they recorded. Furthermore, each one had its own agenda. Recent scholarship, as detailed and updated in Elizabeth Aubrey's articles in the latest *New Grove* ('Sources, MS, §III, 3–4'), has gone a long way to help us here. The chansonniers were certainly not compiled with a view to being brought together like so many pieces of a puzzle, in order to reconstitute a 'medieval' reality, which is admittedly our agenda, or something like it. Their purpose was usually quite simple and practical. It was to please, and in some cases honour, the party or parties paying for the book. To summarize, moving chronologically through a few representative books, the following scenarios have been suggested: chansonnier U was a gift from Perrin Noise to his bride Helois in Metz of 1231; editors drew up chansonnier M for the Champenois diaspora in the Latin Greek province of Morea in the 1260s, and then adjusted it for their lord Charles d'Anjou in the 1270s; chansonnier T was destined around the same time for some members of the Arras bourgeoisie; troubadour chansonnier R was possibly written up for Enric II, count of Rodez around 1300; and chansonnier O may have been compiled for Blanche of Burgundy's wedding to Edouard de Savoie in 1307.[45] For each, then, an editor or group of editors planned the book and brought together the sources which would provide the appropriate combination of standard items (songs by troubadours such as Folquet de Marselha and Guiraut Riquier, or by trouvères such as Gace Brulé and Thibaut de Champagne) and other, more local ones (such as lais or motets). The whole would create a chansonnier perfectly suited to its commissioner(s): in U, 'hits' (to use Robert Lug's expression[46]) by trouvères, some of them living, complemented by a group of troubadour songs; in M, an eclectic sample of mainland music, complete with knightly representations for those Champenois nobles exiled in Greece; in T, a group of Arras motets with dits and poems praising that city; in R, certain troubadours from around Rodez, including a generous space to Narbonne native Guiraut Riquier. In the compilation of each chansonnier, music usually played a part, with melody and text presented together. And it is significant that in some cases this notation made use of the newly invented shapes which clearly differentiated pitch duration.

MUSICAL NOTATION AS RECEPTION

Troubadour and trouvère chansonniers relied not only on specialists in the writing of text, but on professional music scribes as well. That there were separate sources for music, as I have in fact already suggested, is clear from the fact that most chansonniers – like many other medieval musical manuscripts, for that matter – contain empty staves. For example, the majority of troubadour chansonnier R's staves are empty – some 680 out of well over 800.[47] In other words, music was planned but not available in time to finish the book.

While it is possible that singers were brought in for dictation, the many surviving musical erasures suggest that written, rather than oral, sources were the norm. And the use of written sources certainly concords with what is known in general about the activity of professional scribes in medieval scriptoria. The extant melodies were produced less often as freely extemporized songs than as copied, manipulable texts. And though exemplars were often copied with a certain liberty more typical of medieval habits, the evidence also shows that sometimes a scribe's approach could be quite literal.[48] The extant sources bear this out. Where more than one musical reading of a given poem survives, we generally find more similarities than differences. For instance, in the case of Gaucelm Faidit's lament for Richard I the Lionhearted, 'Fort chausa oiaz' (PC 167, 22), troubadour chansonniers G, W, η and X's readings open with quite similar melodies. In the transcription in example 1.8, I have tried to reproduce the original notation while adjusting the original layout to present parallel readings; bracketed sections in W indicate that music and text are lacking.[49]

Despite musico-graphic and textual variations, these versions are quite similar – more than likely η's version begins with the C clef one line too high, as the scribe struggled to place his notes on the faint ruling lines he used as staves.[50] In fact, so small a detail as the plica, a light, vertical stroke added to the note, over *maior/greignor* of phrase 2 is found in all but X's reading. The plica was traditionally associated with a sound made in the back of the throat, and it is striking that these three manuscripts all put it in the same place; η's curved shape especially, seems quite deliberate.[51] The general similarities between versions compiled far apart in place (Northern France, Languedoc and Italy) and time (from around 1230 to 1300) suggest that they are related to some sort of original written version.

Our survey of the melodies brings us to an important consideration, that of the notation's varied graphic appearance, which I have already commented on briefly in the preceding examples. Although the notation of


G29v
Fort chausa oiaz e tot lo major dan. et maior dol las qeu anc mais aues.
W191/
B182v
[ ]t chose auias et tot lor ma-[ ]r dan. et greignor dol que [ ]s oges.
η89v
Fort chose est que tot le maur dam. et le maur doel las que onqc mes ages.
X87r
Greu chose es que tot lo maior dan. et greignor dol que onques mais auguez.

[The most awful thing of all is (or, I have heard,) this great loss and the greatest sorrow–alas– I have ever heard.]

Example 1.8: Four readings of Gaucelm Faidit's 'Fort chausa oiaz', incipit

the earliest codex U harks back to the neumes found in the earliest chant sources, most of our chansonniers use the later so-called square notation. Probably originating in Jumièges (Normandy), this notational style by 1200 had already spread to many writing centres throughout Western Europe, in particular Paris.[52] By reason of its shape, this new notation was later called square or quadratic following medieval theorists (Latin *nota quadrata*).

A major development in tandem with this graphic one took place in the first half of the thirteenth century. Medieval theorists called it *musica mensurabilis*, that is, measurable, or mensural music.[53] As polyphonic repertoires were increasingly committed to writing, rhythmic improvements were made to the new square notation partly under the influence of scholastic teaching at the University of Paris.[54] This change coincided with the new coin system introduced to measure goods and the first mechanical clocks which organized time.[55] The earliest descriptions of *musica mensurabilis* date from the early thirteenth century, when the anonymous author of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* treatise and Johannes de Garlandia first describe how groups of notes, or ligatures, are arranged to indicate a piece's fundamental rhythmic pattern, or mode (*modus*). This notation, probably used as early as the late twelfth century, is found in extant manuscripts of mostly melismatic organum dating from around the middle of the thirteenth century on, in the same period as our chansonniers. The prevailing term introduced



[In the name of God, what a madness it is, this love sickness! I can find no relief, nor can I suffer its ou-(trage ...)]

Example 1.9: Beginning of motet *En non dieu / ferens pondera* (Montpellier, Bibliothèque de médecine, H 196, fol. 234r)

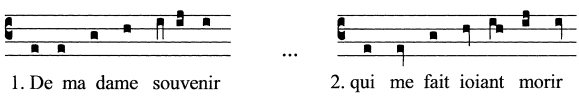
by Willi Apel to describe its earliest phase, 'modal notation', despite its usefulness, is misleading, for it creates a dichotomy between mensural music and the rhythmic modes which medieval theorists generally do not suggest; despite their differing ideas on the subject, for Johannes de Garlandia as for Franco of Cologne, modes were fundamental to all polyphony.[56]

As more syllabic works came to be notated, mensural music assigned individual shapes to durations, differentiating long and short notes, the *longa* and *brevis*. Johannes de Garlandia succinctly, and Magister Lambertus more amply in his *Tractatus de musica*, describe these distinctions. Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* from the third quarter of the thirteenth century further distinguishes multiple permutations of ligatures and admits the *semibrevis* (rhomboid note), rather than the *brevis*, as the syllable-bearing note. The motet *En non dieu / ferens pondera* is a good illustration of the mensural notation described by Lambertus (example 1.9). Notice the part-writing format, with the tenor notated separately beneath the motet voice (I have transcribed only the first two staves of the upper voice and the beginning of the tenor).

As these exciting new developments took place in polyphonic music, it was only natural that some chansonniers' notators would be drawn to it. The overwhelming majority of extant troubadour and trouvère melodies do not use the mensural notation described by Lambertus or Franco, but rather the 'undifferentiated' or 'non-mensural' notes (unfortunately negative terms) found in clausulae and chant sources.[57] A notable minority – some 10 per cent – do, however. Their mensuration is sometimes inconsistent and

Table 1.7. *Songs in measured notation*

Chansonnier / Source	Melodies
Troubadour R (fols. 5r, 9v, 57r and 88v)	5
Troubadour W[60]	9
M[61] (table 1.2)	26
O	130
R (especially fols. 27–32, 43–68 and 146–157)	50
T (fol. 4r)	1
U (fol. 170v)	1
V (fols. 149–152)	5
W (fols. 15–31)	15
a (fols. 174–180)	3
Frankfurt fragment	1
Fragment London, BL, Harly 1717	1
Fragment Oxford, New College, 362	1
Tournai fragment	1
Gautier de Coinci manuscripts S (22 melodies), L (3), R (1)	26
Refrains marked with an asterisk in table 1.5	195
TOTAL =	470

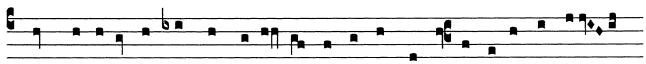


[The memory of my lady ... which makes me die joyfully ...]

Example 1.10: Excerpts of Thibaut de Champagne's 'De ma dame' (O, fol. 32v)

does not always exactly fit 'classical' Franconian description; then again, neither do many early motets.[58] Of the some 4,900 readings of troubadour and trouvère melodies tallied above, some 470 are transmitted in notation which, like that of T's reading of 'Pour conforter ma pesance' discussed at the beginning of this chapter, differentiates between *longa* and *brevis*.[59]

As can be seen in table 1.7, after the refrains, chansonnier O transmits most of these. The music scribe's use of mensurality is inconsistent by Franconian standards. Of the 332 songs notated in the original hand, I have counted only around 130 – a little over one-third – which, to a greater or lesser degree, suggest a rhythmic mode by a prolonged alternation of *longa* and *brevis* shapes.[62] The music scribe sometimes delays differentiating *longae* and *breves*, as in 'De ma dame' by Thibaut de Champagne on folio 32v (Beck number 81), where the graphic distinction begins only in the second verse (example 1.10).



1. Mout mabelit li chanz des oiseillons 7 la verdours et estez qui repaire.

[The song of birds cheers me and the greenery and summer which returns ...]

Example 1.11: Beginning of 'Mout m'abelit' (O, fol. 84r)

In other cases, a *longa–brevis* differentiation is set up and then abandoned, as in the first verse of the anonymous 'Mout m'abelit' on folio 84r (number 209) (example 1.11).

This kind of rhythmic irregularity is even more pronounced in chansonnier R, where at least fifty of its 235 melodies in some way alternate *longae* and *breves*. The distinction here is frequently difficult, given the erratic length of the stems, from 1 to 7 millimetres. R's scribe does frequently make use of a full panoply of ligatures, sometimes boasting single *semibreves* – and even occasionally a *minima* (especially fols. 106–125). The alternation between *longa* and *brevis* is even more erratic in chansonnier W or in U's single melody. Thus I use 'mensural' here in a wide sense of the term.[63]

These mensurally notated songs must of course be viewed in light of the new polyphonic genre of the thirteenth century, the motet, and its relationship to troubadour and trouvère song. Although contemporary with trouvère song transmission, many more motets than trouvère songs survive in mensural notation. Mensurally notated songs and motets survive in roughly contemporary sources, so it is difficult if not futile to establish which of the two genres came first. The polytextual motet developed out of the melismatic clausulae composed at Notre Dame cathedral in Paris around 1200. The motet ingeniously combined one or more melodies which sometimes had Old French words (confusingly, also called motets) to be sung with a plainchant fragment.[64] The compilers of chansonniers M and T considered songs and motets related, and edited the two genres together.[65] In general, Old French motet voices were newly composed, although bearing some resemblances to trouvère songs. A specific connection between trouvère song and motet is the so-called *motet enté*, a term found in two chansonniers; it describes what appear to be monophonic songs. Fifteen are in trouvère manuscript N, and sixty-four others survive in another source without music. It is not clear whether they were intended to be sung alone or as part of a motet. Several of these *motet entés* without music are found elsewhere in notated motets.[66]

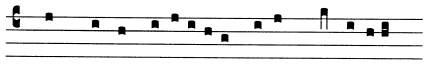
In sixteen cases only, listed in table 1.8, does the same music survive for both a motet and monophonic song or refrain. The first two in table 1.8,

Table 1.8. *Troubadour and trouvère songs surviving in motets*[67]

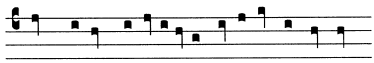
Song	Motet
(1) Tan (Molt) m'abelist (PC 155,22)	**Molt m'abelist** (674) / Onques / flos filius eius
(2) L'autrier cuidai aber druda (PC 461,146)	Agmina milicie [**L'autrier cuidai**, 537][68] / agmina
(3) Pour conforter mon courage (RS 19)	**Pour conforter** (415) / <vir>go
(4) En nom de dieu c'est la rage (RS 33)	**En non dieu** (271) / ferens pondera
(5) Orendroit plus qu'onkes mais (RS 197)	Fine amurs / J'ai lonc / **Orendroit plus** (T 17)
(6) Hui matin a l'ajournee (RS 491a)	**Hyer matin** (764) / domino
(7) Onques n'aima tant com (RS 498)	**Onques n'amai** (820) / sancte germane
(8) Quant la saisons desiree (RS 505)	Sens penser / **Quant la saisons** (891) / Qui bien aime
(9) Chascuns qui de bien (RS 759)	**Chascuns qui** (526) / et florebit
(10) Quant voi le douz tens (RS 1485)	**Quant voi** (235) / En mai / <immo>latus
(11) Main s'est levee Aelis (RS 1510)	**Main s'est levee** (252) / et tenuerunt
(12) Quant florissent li buisson (RS 1852)	**Quant florissent** (137) / domino quo<niam>
(13) D'un joli dart (vB ref. 633 from *Renart*)	Par une / O clemencie / **D'un joli** (T 22a)
(14) He resvelle toi (vB ref. 870 from *Robin*)	En mai / L'autre jour / **He resvelle toi** (T 9)
(15) Prenez i garde (vB ref. 1531 from *Renart*)	**S'on me regarde** (908) / **Prennes i garde** (909) / He mi enfant
(16) Robin m'aime (vB ref. 1633, from *Robin*)	Mout me fu / **Robin m'aime** (298) / portare

left column, are troubadour melodies, numbers 3–12 are trouvère songs, and the last four, refrains (numbers 13 and 15) and short songs (14 and 16) from works listed in table 1.5. Their motet counterpart is given in bold letters in the right column; all are motet upper voices except numbers 5, 13 and 14 which are tenors. In most cases, it is difficult to say which came first, song or motet, since both versions are usually transmitted in manuscripts dating from around the same time. In two instances, numbers 6 and 9, the monophonic songs survive in mensural notation, while their motet counterpart does not. In number 6 for example, a motet voice notated non-mensurally in one source (example 1.12a), is found as a mensurally notated monophonic song in Gautier de Coinci manuscript S, folio 117r (example 1.12b).

Other motets survive in mensural notation, while their monophonic counterparts do not: numbers 1, 4, 10 and 12; number 4 has already been discussed in example 1.9 above. Numbers 5, 8, and the four refrains are the



Example 1.12a: Motet *Hyer matin / domino*, incipit (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099, fol. 234r–v)



[This morning at the break of day, as I rode leisurely ...]

Example 1.12b: 'Hui matin', incipit (Gautier de Coinci manuscript S, fol. 117r)


O124v
Quant la saisons de- sirree est entree qu yvers na pooir
Tur.21v
Quant la saisons desirre- e est entre e kivers nai pooir

[When the desired season begins and winter no longer rules]

Example 1.13: 'Quant la saisons' in chansonnier O (above) and Turin manuscript (below), incipits

only instances in which mensural versions exist for both song and motet. In most of these cases, the notation is strikingly identical, down to the ligature shapes and plicas; motet and song appear to have been copied from very similar exemplars. Compare the beginning of chansonnier O's version of number 8, 'Quant la saisons' (example 1.13, upper), with its motet counterpart in Turin, Biblioteca reale, manuscript Vari 42 (example 1.13, lower).

As for the remaining pieces in table 1.8, numbers 2, 3, 7 and 11, exclusively non-mensurally notated versions survive for both motet and song. Given this evidence, it would be imprudent to postulate an evolutionary narrative from the non-mensural notation of monophony to the mensural notation of polyphony; indeed, the evidence discussed here points to these developments taking place at around the same time.

TROUBADOUR AND TROUVÈRE LEGENDS

So divorced were the troubadours and trouvères from the period of transmission just described that legends soon developed around the more famous ones especially. These legends are crucial, for they would have an enduring impact on reception, as we shall see in later chapters. I use the word 'legend', for medieval writers generally did not distinguish as clearly between fact and fiction as we (might like to think we) do. Historical chronicles could contain elements of fantasy, while a saint's life or romance might be based on historical facts.[69] For example, it is an attested fact that Richard I the Lionhearted was imprisoned in Austria between 1192 and 1194.[70] It is less likely that he was rescued by a minstrel called Blondel (presumably Blondel de Nesle) in the sensational fashion retold by the thirteenth-century chronicle which is discussed below. In this respect, medieval legends are similar to the modern myths which Roland Barthes so entertainingly discussed a half century ago, one of these being the 1953 film *Julius Caesar* in which Marlon Brando plays Marc Antony. Brando's character is certainly based on the historical Marc Antony. But it transcends him, as Barthes puts it, in order to propagate certain modern characterizations such as that all Romans have locks of hair winding down their foreheads.[71] Another way to look at medieval as well as contemporary myths is that their primary role is not to tell the facts, but rather to identify the present with the past, as another great student of myth has put it.[72] So, for example, when late medieval writers made an eighth-century warrior into a contemporary artistic and knightly hero, they were creating a new, mythic Tristan de Leonnois which would inspire their audiences.

The earliest legends which concern us are the over 100 surviving troubadour biographies, or *vidas*. First appearing in poetic anthologies in the late thirteenth century, the *vidas* were soon presented in their own separate collections, and this is the form in which the majority has survived, in manuscripts dating from the early fourteenth century on.[73] These later *vidas* sometimes add to the earliest versions. For instance, the primitive version of the *vida* of Guillem de Cabestaing (*fl.* 1180–1215) relates how his lover was tricked by her jealous husband into eating the murdered Guillem's heart. Later recensions add dramatic touches to this story, such as the jealous lord's query to his wife, 'Sabetz vos so que vos avetz manjat?' ('Do you know what you have eaten?'). Guillem's tale was known in the mid-fourteenth century to both Petrarch, who alludes to it in the chapter of the first of his *Trionfi*, and to Boccaccio, who in his *Decameron* relates much the same story concerning a Guillaume de Guardestaing, 'secondo che raccontano i

provenzali' ('according to that which the Provençals tell').[74] This same basic legend shows up also in the late thirteenth-century *Roman du Castelain de Coucy*, the story of trouvère Châtelain de Coucy and a certain Dame de Fayel by the otherwise unknown author Jakemes. Jakemes identifies the Châtelain by his first name: 'Bien sai que Renaus avoit non, par tout estoit de grant renon' ('Well do I know that Renaus was his name, he was everywhere renowned'). The version of the eaten heart legend found at the end of Jakemes' *roman* has the basic components common to Guillem's and other versions: the lover's murder, the lady's unsuspecting enjoyment of the meal of her lover's heart, the husband's dramatic revelation, and the lady's suicide.[75]

Two other noteworthy figures were the subject of legends during this period, legends which furthermore have special musical importance: Thibaut de Champagne and Richard I the Lionhearted or Cœur-de-Lion.

The story of the love of Thibaut de Champagne for the older regent queen Blanche de Castille is first passed down by English historian Roger of Wendover in his *Flores historiarum* (*c*. 1235). Roger reports that, at the Siege of Avignon in 1226, the young Count Thibaut had tried to poison his king Louis VIII out of love for the queen Blanche de Castille, 'whom he was loving carnally', as Roger puts it. Roger does add that this rumour was disputed and some claimed Louis had died of dysentery:

> Then the count [Thibaut], as rumour has it, arranged for the king [Louis VIII] to drink a poison; this was on account of his love for the queen [Blanche de Castille] whom he was loving carnally. After this, tormented by passion, he did not have the strength to stay [at Avignon] any longer. After the count had left, the king was made sick to despair and, with the penetrating poison reaching his vital parts, he was led to his end – although others claim the king died not of poison but of dysentery.[76]

This peculiar story is repeated by Wendover's follower Matthew Paris, who in general reused and amplified a good deal of Roger's material. In his *Historia anglorum* (*c*. 1250), Matthew relates how, four years after the alleged murder, the French nobles goaded the young Louis IX to avenge his father's death by duelling with Thibaut; Blanche called a halt to this duel lest it internally weaken France which was then facing English hostilities, as Matthew reports:

> And in those days, the whole French kingdom was greatly disturbed. For many were pursuing with hostility the Count [Thibaut] of Champagne, against whom they brought judgement concerning a most serious crime of treason and royal offence, in order that he who had tried to poison his lord the king Louis [VIII] at

the Siege of Avignon [in 1226] out of love for the queen [Blanche de Castille] – whom he had loved illicitly, as was said – should be punished. From that time on, these same leaders from the court of the French king began voicing their complaint in the king's [Louis IX] presence, asking to demonstrate the same count's guilt by means of a duel. Then, the queen, prudent and astute beyond her womanly sex, who disposed of all the kingdom's affairs, because she did not wish the simple young king to hear these men, persuaded them all to remain silent for the time being lest the English king, who was approaching with hostile intent, should be bolstered by French confusion.[77]

The early fourteenth-century *Chroniques de France* report a slightly later incident in which Blanche chastises Thibaut for fighting against her son the young king Louis IX in the rebellion of 1235. As the angry queen wags her finger, Thibaut begins to notice her beauty and leaves her presence filled with 'a sweet and loving thought'. His bedazzlement with the queen was to become the motivation for Thibaut's love songs, the chronicler explains:

The count looked at the queen who was so wise and so fair that he was overwhelmed with her great beauty. He replied to her thus: 'In faith, my lady, my heart and body and all of my land is at your service, and there is nothing that would please you that I would not do willingly, and neither would I ever go against you or yours, if it please God'. He left that place heavy with thoughts and he often remembered the queen's sweet gaze and her beautiful face. Thus a sweet and loving thought entered his heart. But when he remembered that she was a lady of high lineage, of upright and clean life, and that he could never possess her, his sweet and loving thought changed to great sadness. And because deep thoughts bring on melancholy, he was told by certain wise men to apply himself to beautiful vielle sounds and to delightful, sweet songs. He and Gace Brulé made the most beautiful and delightful songs which were ever heard in song or on the vielle. And he had them written in his hall at Provins and in that of Troyes, and they are called 'The Songs of the King of Navarre', for he had inherited the kingdom of Navarre from his brother [actually his uncle Sancho VII *le Fort*] who died without leaving an heir.[78]

Incidentally, it is here that we find out that Thibaut had his songs 'written in his hall at Provins and in that of Troyes', a collection which came to be called 'The Songs of the King of Navarre' ('Les Chansons au Roy de Navarre', in the words of the chronicle), as mentioned earlier. Only decades after Thibaut's death, several chansonniers attest to Thibaut and Blanche's love legend in a *jeu-parti* between the two; one chansonnier fragment even places songs by Blanche and Thibaut side by side.[79]

Our second figure, Richard I the Lionhearted, was already in his own time the subject of several legends. The most notable of these is the story which earned him his name, according to which he tore out a lion's heart armed with only a silk handkerchief. Another legend is the dramatic account

of a certain trouvère Blondel's discovery of the imprisoned Richard, first related by the so-called 'minstrel of Reims' in the mid-thirteenth century.[80] The minstrel describes how the frustrated Blondel wanders unsuccessfully for over a year throughout 'estranges contrees' ('strange lands') looking for his master Richard who has been taken captive. When he finally arrives at the duke of Austria's castle, Blondel hears the cunning Richard singing from up high in his tower the first part of a song composed by and known only to the two of them – a song which the narrator does not name. And this is Blondel's reaction:

> He felt in his heart the greatest joy which he had ever experienced at any time. He then left the garden, and came to his room where he reclined and picked up his vielle; and he started to play [literally, 'to vielle'] a tune, and, in playing, he became thrilled that he had found his lord.

Blondel soon leaves for England where he has emissaries sent to bargain for Richard's deliverance which occurs shortly thereafter.[81]

In addition to these legends, other writers spread troubadour and trouvère fame. What is striking is how little they are interested in the music of our poets. Poets especially praised are those given prominence in the chansonniers: Bernart de Ventadorn, Folquet de Marselha, the Châtelain de Coucy and Thibaut de Champagne. By the early fourteenth century, we witness a separation of music and text, and a waning interest in the transmitted melodies. This phenomenon originates with earlier writers. Raimon Vidal illustrates his grammar treatise the *Razos de trobar* with examples from several Bernart de Ventadorn poems; the first stanza of 'Era non vei luzer soleill' (PC 70,7), for example, illustrates incorrect conjugation. But this song's melody, which survives in troubadour chansonniers G, R and W, is not discussed or even mentioned by Raimon. The *Consistori de la Subragaya Companhia del Gay Saber* was established in 1323 in Toulouse for the creation of poetry in Old Occitan. In *Las Leys d'Amors* (1356), the official document of the *Gay Saber* assembly, music is given cursory mention, while aspects of grammar and rhyme are covered in detail. No melodies survive from this episode of troubadour activity.[82] Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* (*c.* 1305) praises both Occitan and French poets, twice citing Aimeric de Belenoi's 'Nuls hom non pot complir' (PC 9,13a) and Thibaut de Champagne's 'De bone amor' (RS 407, which Dante calls 'De fin amor'). Both of these songs also survive with music, although Dante does not mention the melodies. Other Occitan poets Dante cites are Folquet de Marselha and Arnaut Daniel, whom he elsewhere praises as 'miglior fabbro del parlar materno' ('a better workman in the mother tongue').[83] Jakemes' *Roman*

du Castelain de Coucy cites seven full songs by the Châtelain de Coucy, although, here again, music is not included.[84] A song attributed to the Châtelain in some chansonniers, 'Quant li rosignols' (RS 1559), is cited in Johannes de Grocheio's *De musica*, an idiosyncratic treatise on music in Paris from around 1300. Grocheio gives what was probably meant as this song and Thibaut de Champagne's 'Ausi com l'unicorne' (RS 2075) as examples of what he calls a *cantus coronatus*, a song composed by noble persons and dealing with lofty subjects such as friendship or love. Another category of Grocheio's is the *cantus versualis*, and as an example of this he cites another song by Thibaut, 'Chanter m'estuet' (RS 1476). But Grocheio's treatise does not transmit the music for these songs. Rather, his main purpose is to place them in a grand classification of late thirteenth-century music, as discussed in greater detail in chapter 6. For all of these authors, then, music plays a very small part in their treatment of troubadour and trouvère art. Raimon and the *Gay Saber* assembly are preoccupied primarily with declensions and conjugations, Dante with the origins of language, Jakemes with the Châtelain's love affair, and Grocheio with an Aristotelian anthropology.

By the end of the fourteenth century, new ideas about words and song emerge and the troubadours and trouvères, let alone their music, are seldom remembered. Symptomatic is Eustache Deschamps' *L'Art de dictier* (1392). In this treatise, Deschamps cleaves music and words apart, calling poetry with musical notation 'artificial' (*musique artificielle*) and that without, 'natural' (*musique naturelle*). This separation represents a definitive rupture from the troubadours and trouvères who more often than not viewed music and text as inseparable. Deschamps only cites a trouvère song once in his treatise, and this in a paraphrase, a short *rondel* which expresses the general disinterest characteristic of this time. Rather than naming his source, he subtly mimics trouvère Colin Muset's 'Volez oïr la muse Muset?' (RS 966). The title of Colin's original song is a pun on his name and the polysemous verb 'muser':

> Je ne vueil plus a vous, dame, muser;
> Vous pouez bien querir autre musart.
> Tart m'appercoy qu'om m'a fait amuser;
> Je ne veuil plus a vous, dame, muser.
> Ne plus'n espoir en vous mon temps user,
> Quant d'esprevier scavez faire busart.
> Je ne vueil plus a vous, dame muser.[85]

[I no longer wish to play with you, lady; you may as well go find another fool. I see too late that I have been played with. I no longer wish to play with you, lady.

Nor do I hope any more to waste my time with you, since you know how to make a buzzard from a hawk. I no longer wish to play with you, lady.]

Although Colin's original song is found with music in three extant chansonniers, there is no trace of trouvère music in Deschamps' parody.

By 1400, then, troubadour and trouvère song was no longer fashionable. The first wave of reception had already come and gone. To summarize this chapter, the troubadours flourished in the late twelfth century and the trouvères in the early thirteenth. The oral dissemination of their songs gave way to a vibrant and varied literary transmission in the thirteenth century and into the early fourteenth. This transmission, separated from the song-makers by at least one generation, included experimentations with mensural notation, then recently invented. By the late fourteenth century, interest in the old song-makers was reduced to textual forms and clichés which we find in Machaut's motets, for example.[86] In Machaut's student Deschamps' new 'musique naturelle', there was no room for the old-fashioned tunes of the chansonniers compiled a century earlier: his metaphor for Colin Muset's songs was an unamusing and abandoned lover.

NOTES

1. 'It is missing because it was not in the source.'
2. 'There are as many notators as inventors of new signs.' This saying has survived only in fragment form: 'Quot . . . tores, tot sunt novarum inventores figurarum.' See Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, ed. Frederick Hammond, Corpus scriptorum de musica 14 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), 42, and Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600*, 5th edn (Cambridge, Mass., Mediæval Academy of America, 1953), 338.
3. Respectively, trouvère chansonniers T and O listed in table 1.2.
4. The exception is chansonnier U, described further below. Although I adopt the time-honoured term 'chansonnier' to describe these books, it is necessary to point out that certain chansonniers contain repertoires other than songs (*chansons*), such as prose works or motets. See Stephen Nichols, '"Art" and "Nature": Looking for (Medieval) Principles of Order in Occitan *Chansonnier* N (Morgan 819)', in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 83–6.
5. See Gerald Bond, *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine* (New York: Garland, 1982), 136–7, and Bond's 'Origins', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 246–51. On the life and music of Guilhem, Jaufre and Marcabru, see Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996), chapter 1.

6. See Haines, 'Vers une distinction *leu* / *clus* dans l'art musico-poétique des troubadours', *Neophilologus* 81 (1997), 341–7, and Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 194–7.
7. The PC numbering follows the catalogue by Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933).
8. This nomenclature provides the actual folio number followed by the one assigned in the facsimile reproduction by Jean and Louise Beck, *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, number 2, series 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), vol. 1.
9. For a bibliography, see Haines, 'Daniel, Arnaut', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, ed. S. Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 6, 921.
10. See Gérard Gouiran, 'The Classical Period: From Raimbaut d'Aurenga to Arnaut Daniel', and Michael Routledge, 'The Later Troubadours', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Key (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 83–112.
11. A transcription and discussion is found in Elizabeth Aubrey, 'A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F. Fr. 22543' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1982), 137–8.
12. The RS number refers to Hans Spanke's *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1980). Although not provided here, another frequently used numbering is that of Robert Linker's *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* (University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, 1979).
13. The most recent and thorough study of the music of the troubadours is Elizabeth Aubrey's *Music of the Troubadours* cited in note 5. A recent survey of troubadour and trouvère music is Samuel Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gérard Le Vot, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (New York: Garland, 1998).
14. The best description of the larger chansonniers is given by Elizabeth Aubrey in 'Sources, MS, § III, 2: Secular Monophony: Occitan and French', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, ed. S. Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 23, 848–60. On trouvère chansonniers and fragments, see Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 107 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1997–8), vol. 1, 131–52.
15. Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIIIe siècle: Les chansons et dits artésiens* (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981), introduction, especially 89–90.
16. Philippe Wolff, ed., *Les toulousains dans l'histoire* (Toulouse: Privat, 1984), 18; Philippe Wolff *et al.*, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 4th edn (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), chapter 3.
17. Kathryn L. Reyerson, 'Urbanism, Western European', in *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), vol. 12, 282–300. Exact population figures for this period are not available.

18. Edwin S. Hunt and James M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), part one; Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 13–16.
19. Jean Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et XIVe siècle* (Paris: Jacques Vautrain, 1935). See also Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. 1, 85–9.
20. See Haines, 'The Transformations of the *Manuscrit du Roi*', *Musica disciplina* 52 (1998–2002), 5–43.
21. Berger, *Littérature*, 25 and 99.
22. The evidence is discussed in Elizabeth Aubrey, 'A Study', 77–91. Mark Everist has suggested that chansonniers N and K were compiled by the same scribe (Everist, 'Song Books of the Trouvères', unpublished paper presented at 'The Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500' at Oxford, 13 July 1996).
23. Robert Lug, 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz: Zur Herkunft der ältesten Sammlung von Trobador-Liedern (1231)', in *Okzitanistik, Altokzitanistik und Provenzalistik. Geschichte und Auftrag einer europäischen Philologie*, ed. Angelica Rieger (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 249–74.
24. See Gustav Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', *Romanische Studien* 2 (1877), 337–670, and Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösische Liederhandschriften: Ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung: Eine literarhistorische Bestimmung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886). See also Haines, 'Musical Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts, From Palaeography to Performance: Essays in Honour of Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
25. See Dietmar Rieger, '"Senes breu de parguamina"? Zum Problem des "gelesen Lieds" im Mittelalter' *Romanische Forschungen* 99 (1987), 1–18. Musicological research in this area has only recently begun. See Theodore Karp, 'The Trouvère Manuscript Tradition', in *The Department of Music, Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937–1962)*, ed. Albert Mell (New York: Queens College of the City of New York, 1964), 44–7; Ian Parker, 'A propos de la tradition manuscrite des chansons de trouvères', *Revue de musicologie* 64 (1978), 194; Hendrik van der Werf, 'Music', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 129–30; and Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 47.
26. For a facsimile reproduction of this manuscript, see Bryan Gillingham, *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139*, Publications of Mediæval Musical Manuscripts 14 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1987).
27. Manuscripts KMNRTVXa in the first instance, and FKMNPRVX in the second.
28. Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), vol. 1, 12.
29. Michel-André Bossy, 'Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems', *Speculum* 66 (1991), 277–93.

30. The manuscript contains layers which predate the latest one dated 1278 (Friedrich Gennrich, 'Der Chansonnier d'Arras', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 46 [1926], 325–33).
31. They are listed in Alfred Jeanroy's *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux* (Paris: Champion, 1916). See also two recent surveys: William Paden, 'Manuscripts', in *Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 307–33, and William Burgwinkle, 'The *chansonniers* as Books', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 246–62.
32. Compare this figure with Elizabeth Aubrey's 246 poems and 315 variants (Aubrey, *Troubadours*, xvi and 275, note 3). I have included sources and songs intentionally omitted by Aubrey in her tally.
33. On 'L'autrier cuidai', see Robert Taylor, '"L'altrier cuidai aber druda" (PC 461,146): Edition and Study of a Hybrid-Language Parody Lyric', in *Studia Occitanica in Memoriam Paul Remy*, vol. 1, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 1986), 189–201; on Matfre, see Max Lütolf and Reinhilt Richter, 'Les poésies lyriques de Matfré Ermengau', *Romania* 98 (1978), 15–33. I have not included motet voices (discussed further below) or Latin and Old French imitations. Here and in the following tables, my total distinguishes neither complete melodies from fragments, nor short from long melodies (e.g., rondeaux and lais).
34. For my tally of the main chansonnier melodies, I have relied on Elizabeth Aubrey's 'Sources'. No one of the following sources lists all these fragments together: Alfred Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1918); Spanke, *Bibliographie*; Linker, *Bibliography*. See John Stevens' helpful 'Alphabetical Check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994), 1–22; Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, vol. 1, 131–40. Except for the Tournai fragment, which is dated 1276, the exact date of these fragments is not known and is usually estimated to be from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. My cut-off date is the early fourteenth century, thus excluding such a fragment as Paris, BnF ffr 19525 which dates from the mid- to late fourteenth century; neither have I included Old French underlays of songs in another language, such as those in Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*.
35. This figure accounts for the twice-copied tunes in manuscripts D and S, but not the notated subsequent strophes after the first one in S. On Gautier, see Arlette Ducrot-Granderye, *Etudes sur les Miracles Nostre-Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, B XXV, 2 (1932; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1980) and Jacques Chailley, *Les chansons à la vierge de Gautier de Coinci (1177[78]–1236)* (Paris: Heugel, 1959). Only manuscript M is dated exactly to 1266.
36. On these repertoires, see Friedrich Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen* (Göttingen: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921–7), 2 vols.; Maria Coldwell, '*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical

Insertions', *Musica disciplina* 35 (1981), 55–86; Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), especially 298–9; Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, vol. 14; Ardis Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 105–59; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

37. The figures listed in the table are not as straightforward as they seem. For example, *Aucassin et Nicolette*'s three *laisses* are repeated several times; other melodies were written down at different times, as in the *Renart le nouvel* source BnF ffr 1593. Songs marked with an asterisk are mensurally notated (see table 1.5 and discussion below).
38. Up until quite recently (Aubrey's 'Sources' and Hans Tischler's *Trouvère Lyrics*), even exact figures were not available. Available bibliographies do not address music adequately: for the troubadours, Pillet-Carstens, *Bibliographie* and Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux*; for the trouvères, Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français*, Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie* and Linker, *Bibliography*.
39. Alfred Horwood, *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, part 1: *Report and Appendix* (London: G. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1877), 522. On this source, see Jeanroy, *Bibliographie . . . français*, 4.
40. F. R. P. Akehurst and Vivian Ramalingam, 'A New Trouvère Fragment in The Hague', in *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low Countries*, ed. Eugeen Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 2 (Leuven: Alamire, 1997), 19–29; Hans Tischler, 'Newly-Discovered Addenda to the Trouvère Repertoire', *Current Musicology* 70 (2000), 101–109.
41. Axel Wallensköld, 'Un fragment de chansonnier, actuellement introuvable, du XIIIe siècle', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 18 (1917), 2.
42. Bibliographical references for sources in table 1.6 are as follows: for the Chansonnier de Mesmes, Janet Girvan Espiner-Scott, *Documents concernant la vie et les œuvres de Claude Fauchet* (Paris: Droz, 1938), 264–71; for the Clayette fragment, Paul Meyer, 'Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français ayant appartenu au Marquis de la Clayette' (Bibliothèque Nationale, Moreau 1715–1719)', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890), vol. 33, part 1, 3, note 2, and S. Solentes, 'Le grand recueil La Clayette à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), 227; for the Metz fragment, Wallensköld, 'Fragment'; for the Metz manuscript, Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, part 1, *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen: Handschriften in Quadrat-notation* (1910; rev. and ed. by Luther Dittmer, New York: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1964), 339–40; and for the Stuttgart fragment, Jeanroy, *Bibliographie . . . français*, 31.
43. Espiner-Scott, *Documents*, 264; see Haines, 'The Transformations of the *Manuscrit du Roi*'.

44. Kathryn Klingebiel, 'Lost Literature of the Troubadours: A Proposed Catalogue', *Tenso* 13 (1997), 9–12.
45. On the latter two, see Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 46 and Alison Stones, 'The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and Their Artistic Context', in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby *et al.* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), vol. 1, 227–322.
46. Lug, 'Rock–der wiedergeborene Minnesang?' in *Mittelalter-Rezeption III. Gesammelte Vorträge des 3. Salzburger Symposions: 'Mittelalter, Massenmedien, Neue Mythen'*, ed. Jürgen Kühnel *et al.* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988), 461–86; Lug, 'Minne, Medien, Mündlichkeit. Mittelalter-Musik und ihre Wissenschaft im Zeitalter', *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 90/91 (1993), 71–87.
47. Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 46; *idem*, 'A Study', 294–353.
48. See Haines, 'Musical Erasures'.
49. All four versions are found in Hendrik van der Werf's *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Tucson, Ariz.: Author, 1984), 115*–123*. Van der Werf also includes three versions of an Old French *contrafactum* which use a similar tune. I have corrected some textual and musical errors in a few instances.
50. This is also Hendrik van der Werf's opinion (*Extant Melodies*, 117*). See facsimile reproduction in Henry Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina* (1913; repr. Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969), vol. 2, plate 100a.
51. Most recently on liquescence, see Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 46–52.
52. René-Jean Hesbert, *Des manuscrits musicaux de Jumièges*, Monumenta musicae sacrae 2 (Mâcon: Protat, 1954). See also David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 391 and plates 9–10 and 14–15.
53. A helpful, more detailed discussion of what follows is found in Ernest H. Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985), 449–53.
54. Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 56–64; Jeremy Yudkin, 'The Influence of Aristotle on French University Music Texts', in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 173–89; Nancy van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).
55. Alfred W. Crosby, *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
56. Willi Apel, *Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 220–58. See Erich Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, vol. 2, *Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 43–68, especially 44, note 4; Franco of Cologne, 'Ars cantus mensurabilis', trans. Oliver Strunk and James

McKinnon in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. edn, ed. Leo Treitler (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1998), 226–45; Wolf Frobenius, 'Modus (Rhythmuslehre)', in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1972–), vol. 3, 1–8. Writers prior to Willi Apel, most notably Friedrich Ludwig, used the term square notation (*Quadratnotation*) to describe the notes of organum and early motet sources. Like medieval theorists, Ludwig considered modal rhythms an aspect of both pre-Franconian and Franconian notation. See Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, part 2, 622, for example; see also Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913), vol. 1, 242 and 261 for use of the term *Quadratnotation* to describe what Apel would call 'modal notation'.

57. Robert Lug has suggested an intermediate phase of rhythmic notation he calls 'Feinrhythmik' active in the chansonniers. See discussion in chapter 6, p. 282.
58. See Haines, 'Irregular Rhythm in the Music of Marcabru', *Tenso* 18 (2003), 50–66.
59. These figures are similar to those given by Hans Tischler, 'The Chansonnier Cangé and Mensural Notation in Trouvère Songs', *Orbis musicae* 11 (1993–4), 75.
60. These are additions number 2, 3, 17, 20a, 20b, 21, 22, 23, 34 in the Becks' edition (Jean and Louise Beck, *Manuscrit du Roi*, vol. 2).
61. These trouvère songs are additions 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27 and 28 in the Becks' edition, and seven songs added to existing staves (see John Haines, 'The Musicography of the *Manuscrit du Roi*' [Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1998], 154–5).
62. I have counted at least 128 songs in O which exhibit some mensural pattern. The following numbering of O's mensural songs follows Jean Beck, *Le Chansonnier Cangé, manuscrit français n° 846 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, first series (1927; repr. New York: Broude Bros., 1964), 2 vols. My figure does not count the two songs by a later hand (numbers 4 and 62) and the motet (number 53). Hans Tischler tallies 134 thoroughly mensurally notated melodies in O (Tischler, 'Chansonnier Cangé', 74; see also Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, vol. 1, 108–9).

    Songs with consistent mensuration: 3, 9, 12, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 44, 50, 52, 55, 57, 60, 61, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 99, 102, 103, 105, 107, 108, 109, 115, 119, 122, 124, 128, 130, 137, 139, 146, 151, 152, 154, 160, 162, 163, 166, 169, 170, 172, 181, 185, 189, 196, 199, 200, 202, 209, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217, 220, 221, 225, 234, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 248, 253, 254, 261, 264, 266, 267, 270, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 294, 295, 297, 299, 304, 305, 306, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 323, 334, 335, 336, 347, 351.
63. On these questions, see my 'Irregular Rhythm' and David Wulstan, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: The Rhythm of Mediæval Song* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 2001).

64. Polyphonic works exclusively in Old French would have to wait until the three-voice rondeaux by Adam de la Halle in the late thirteenth century. The three two-voice arrangements found in the Gautier de Coinci manuscripts probably also date from this time rather than Gautier's (Nigel Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 46 [(Rome): American Institute of Musicology, 1967]; Chailley, *Chansons*, 68–79).
65. Other motets are found in chansonniers O and a.
66. The 'source without music' is trouvère manuscript I (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308). On the *motet enté*, see Mark Everist's *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 4. See also Judith Peraino, 'New Music, Notions of Genre, and the "Manuscrit du Roi" circa 1300' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1995), chapter 6, and 'Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages', *Musical Quarterly*, forthcoming.
67. These songs are arranged by PC and RS numbers. Refrains (vB) are numbered according to Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains, du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). Motets (no siglum) and French tenors (T) are numbered according to Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium*. See also Hendrik van der Werf's *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Tucson, Ariz.: Author, 1989). Friedrich Gennrich provides a list and commentary for many of these in his 'Trouvèrelieder und Motettenrepertoire', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926), 8–39 and 65–84.
68. The motet's upper voice is actually a Latin text, 'Agmina milicie celestis', with the incipit 'L'altrier cuidai' written in the margin. See facsimile in Ethel Thurston, *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris, lat. 15139: Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediæval Studies, 1959), fol. 292v.
69. This has long been acknowledged by medieval historians. See, for example, Maurice Keen, 'Chivalry, Heralds, and History', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis *et al.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 393–414.
70. On Richard's captivity, see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), chapter 13.
71. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Seuil, 1957), 27–9 and 181–233.
72. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 43.
73. The primary manuscripts are listed in Jean Boutière and A. H. Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours: textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2nd edn (Paris: A.-G. Nizet, 1973), xvi–xvii. See also Margarita Egan, *The Vidas of the Troubadours* (New York: Garland, 1984).
74. Arthur Långfors, *Les chansons de Guillhem de Cabestanh* (Paris: Champion, 1924), vii–xv and 31–51; Egan, *Vidas*, xxix and 52–5; Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi, e poesie latine*, ed. F. Neri *et al.* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1961), 503; Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decameron*, ed. Aldo Francesco Massèra (Bari: G. Laterza e figli, 1927), 326.

75. Maurice Delbouille and John Matzke, eds., *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel par Jakemes* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1936); citation from lines 69–70. On Old French versions of this legend, see most recently Madeleine Jeay, 'Consuming Passions: Variations on the Eaten Heart Theme', in *Violence Against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. Anna Roberts (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 75–96. Still useful is John Matzke's 'The Legend of the Eaten Heart', *Modern Language Notes* 26 (1911), 1–8. It is worth noting that the otherwise unknown Dame de Fayel is given as the author of 'Chanterai por mon courage' (RS 21) in the fourteenth-century chansonnier Bern, Stadtbibliothek 389, fol. 86.
76. Henry Hewlett, ed., *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum*, Rolls Series 84 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1887), vol. 2, 313: 'Tunc comes, ut fama refert, procuravit regi venenum propinari ob amorem reginae ejus, quam carnaliter amabat, unde libidinis impulsu stimulatus moras ulterius nectere non valebat. Comite igitur taliter recedente, infirmabatur rex usque ad desperationem, et pervagante ad vitalia veneno perducitur ad extrema; licet alii asserant, ipsum non veneno, sed morbo dysenterico exspirasse.' For another translation, see J. A. Giles, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History* (London: Henry Bohn, 1849), vol. 2, 481; Giles omits the phrase 'quam carnaliter amabat' without commentary.
77. Frederic Madden, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Historia Anglorum sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor*, Rolls Series 44 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), vol. 2, 325: 'Eisdemque diebus totum regnum Francorum perturbatum est vehementer, ita quod multi . . . insecuti sunt . . . comitem Campaniae, contra quem gravissimam moverant quaestionem de crimine proditionis et laesae majestatis, ut qui dominum suum regem Lodowicum in obsidione Avinionis, ob amorem, ut dicebatur, reginae, quam illicite amabat, veneno interfecerat, condigne puniretur. Unde, cum iidem magnates in curia regis Francorum, in praesentia regis inde querimoniam saepe deposuissent, et ipsum comitem per duellum appellatum convincere voluissent, regina supra sexum muliebrem prudens et astuta, per quam omnia regni negotia disponebantur propter regis simplicitatem et aetatem puerilem, noluit eos audire. Persuadens omnia ad tempus sub silentio pertransire, propter adventum hostilem regis Anglorum, ne ex perturbatione Franciae roboraretur.'
78. Jules Viard, ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920), 67–8: 'Le conte regarda la royne qui tant estoit sage, et tant belle, que de la grant biauté de lui il fu tous esbahiz. Si li respondi: "Par ma foi, madame, mon cuer et mon cors, et toute ma terre est en vostre commandement, ne n'est rienz qui vous poist plaire que je ne feisse volentiers, ne jamais, se Dieu plaist, contre vous ne contre les vos je n'iré." D'iluec se parti touz penssis, et li venoit souvent en remenbrance du douz regart la royne et de sa belle contenance. Lors si entroit son cueur en une penssée douce et amoureuse. Mais quant il li souvenoit qu'elle estoit si haute dame, de si bonne vie et de si nete qu'il n'en porroit ja joir, si muoit sa douce penssée amoureuse

en grant tristece. Et pour ce que parfondes penssées engendrent mélancolie, ly fu il loé d'aucuns sages hommes qu'il s'estudiast en biaus sons de viele et en douz chanz délitables. Si fist entre luy et Gace Brulé les plus belles chançons et les plus délitables et mélodieuses qui onques fussent oies en chançon né en vielle. Et les fist escrire en la sale a Provins et en celle de Troyes et sont appellées Les Chansons au Roy de Navarre, quar le reamme de Navarre li eschai de par son frere qui morut sanz hoir de son cors.'

79. This is fragment BnF n.a.fr. 21677 in table 1.3. See Eglal Doss-Quinby *et al.*, *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 106–11 and 166–70.
80. On this legend, see Yvan Lepage, 'Blondel de Nesle et Richard Cœur-de-Lion: Histoire d'une légende', *Florilegium* 7 (1985), 109–28.
81. Natalis de Wailly, *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle* (Paris: Renouard, H. Loones, 1876), 43: 'Si ot en son cuer la graingneur joie qu'il eust eu onques mais nul jour. Atant s'en parti dou vergier, et vint en sa chambre ou il gisoit, et prist sa viele; et commenca a vieleir une note, et en vielant se delitoit de son seigneur qu'il trouvei avoit.' Another translation is provided by Robert Levine, *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle: Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims, A Translation and Introduction* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen, 1990), 28. On Richard's legends in general, see Bradford Broughton, *The Legends of Richard I, Cœur de Lion: A Study of Sources and Variations to the Year 1600* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).
82. François de Gélis, *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux, depuis leur origine jusqu'à leur transformation en académie (1323–1694)* (1912; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1981). See also references in Robert A. Taylor, *La littérature occitane du Moyen Age: Bibliographie sélective et critique* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 131–2.
83. For a translation of Raimon and Dante's treatise, see Marianne Shapiro, *De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); Raimon's Bernart citation is found on p. 123. The famous Dante citation is from his *Commedia divina, Purgatorio*, book 26, line 117. See Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, ed. David H. Higgins, trans. C. H. Sisson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 314; original in Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*, vol. 2, *Purgatorio*, ed. Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1994), 782.
84. These seven songs are: 'Pour verdure' (RS 549) in lines 362–406 of Matzke and Delbouille, *Roman*; 'La douce vois' (RS 40), lines 816–55; 'Quant li estes' (RS 1913), lines 2591–2614; 'Au renouvel' (RS 437), lines 5952–5992; 'Au nouviaus tens' (RS 985), lines 7005–7011; 'A vous amant' (RS 679), lines 7347–7398; and 'Sans faindre voel' (RS 1435a), lines 7564–7608.
85. Eustache Deschamps, *L'Art de dictier*, ed. and trans. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing, Mich.: Colleagues Press, 1994), 90–1 and 134–5. Colin Muset's poem is edited in Joseph Bédier and Jean Beck, *Les chansons de Colin Muset*, Les classiques français du moyen âge 7 (Paris: Champion, 1912), 1. See James Wimsatt's 'Chaucer and Deschamps' "Natural Music"', in *The Union*

of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry, ed. Rebecca Baltzer, *et al.* (Austin: University of Texas, 1991), 132–50.

86. Jacques Boogaart has recently shown the different references to trouvère songs, especially those of Thibaut de Champagne, in Machaut's motets. See Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86.

CHAPTER 2

The changing song

> Au bon vieulx temps ung train d'Amours regnoit.
>
> Clément Marot, 'De l'amour du siècle antique'

> Quando si incomincio à far versi volgari e da quali.
>
> Pietro Bembo, section heading in *Le Prose*[1]

It would at first appear that, between 1400 and 1700, little if any interest was taken in the music of the troubadours and trouvères. Or, at least, this was the way nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers viewed it: medieval music had lain buried and forgotten until it was resurrected in the late eighteenth century.[2] Troubadour and trouvère song never really disappeared however, and, beginning in the sixteenth century, scholars were already discussing the notation of the chansonniers. Several other developments crucial to later reception took place before 1700: the creation of a historical category called the 'French antiquity' (i.e., the Middle Ages), the continuation and expansion of troubadour and trouvère legends, a nationalistic debate between France and Italy which set the course for medieval studies, and the earliest stereotyping of medieval music as primitive and naïve. The songs of the troubadours and trouvères were far from forgotten. They were being remembered, and transformed as the remembering went on.

Of course, what we now call the Middle Ages only slowly came to be designated as such. Beginning in the sixteenth century, French writers frequently used the expression *antiquité françoise* or *nostre antiquité*; *antiquité* was by far the most common term to designate the Middle Ages. *Le gothique* (*Gothik* in England) was also adopted in the seventeenth century; both it and the term *gaulois* became pejorative designations for incorrect and old-fashioned language. Around the same time, the term *medium aevum* (middle age) and its French translation *moyen âge* began to be used. Only in the nineteenth century, though, did *moyen âge* gain wide usage.[3]

Why bother studying this *antiquité françoise*, only a few centuries removed from a Renaissance point of view? Whether it was to standardize

the French language, to assert Tuscan priority in Italy, or to defend southern French heritage, interest in troubadour and trouvère songs resided consistently in their ability to bring to the present something it lacked. The medieval past as remembered and imagined between 1400 and 1700 was an idealized one which scholars and antiquarians extracted through the process of historical study. As I shall argue, for Claude Fauchet, the forgotten trouvères he was 'resurrecting' granted a new prestige to the French language; for Jean de Nostredame, the *art de trobar* demonstrated the unappreciated richness of southern French culture; and for Jean-Baptiste Lully, medieval song recalled a forgotten national grandeur. More often than not, the Middle Ages were studied with one eye firmly fixed on the present.

As the concept of an *antiquité françoise* took shape in sixteenth-century France, two distinct approaches emerged. The first was an idealization of, and nostalgia for, the late Middle Ages. The poet Clément Marot imitated fourteenth-century genres such as the ballade and rondeau. His famous rondeau 'De l'amour du siècle antique' from the 1530s pined for the good old days of courtly love. It begins:

> Au bon vieulx temps ung train d'Amours regnoit
> Qui sans grand art, et dons se démenait
> Si qu'un boucquet, donné d'Amour profonde,
> S'estoit donné toute la Terre ronde,
> Car seulement au cueur on se prenoit.
>
> Et si par cas à jouyr on venoit,
> Savez-vous bien comme on s'entretenoit?
> Vingt ans, trente ans: cela duroit ung Monde,
> Au bon vieulx temps.[4]

[In the good old days there ruled a kind of love which did not need great speeches or gifts. Thus a bouquet given with a deep felt love was tantamount to giving the whole earth, for only a heartfelt response mattered. And if a lover came to reap the fruits of love back then, do you know what this meant? Twenty, thirty years: it meant the world back then, in the good old days.]

In its form (five and three lines plus a refrain) and occasional archaisms ('si' and 'jouyr'), Marot's rondeau recalls fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poetry. However, no specific historical references are found in this poem, for the *bon vieux temps* was a broader *antiquité* which included the thirteenth century but was not specific to it. Indeed, Marot had made popular the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* in no less than four separate editions between 1526 and 1538, and the influence of this most famous *roman* can be seen in several of his works.[5] Writers such as Jean de La Fontaine in the

seventeenth century emulated what became known after Marot as the 'style marotique'; they pined for *le bon vieux temps* and used poetic archaisms to evoke a general time located somewhere in the past which they designated *antiquité françoise*. La Fontaine's fable of the stork and the fox from his 1668 *Fables* begins thus: 'Compère le Renard se mit un jour en frais, et retint à diner commère la Cigogne' ('Old Mister Fox was at expense, one day, to dine old Mistress Stork'). Not only the medieval subject of the fox, but also specific expressions such as 'compère' and 'commère', trademark expressions of the original *Renart* story, recall the longed for *antiquité françoise*.[6]

The 'style marotique' was especially praised for an ephemeral naïve quality; this naïveté soon became essential to it, and people in turn started associating naïveté with the Middle Ages. Jean-Antoine du Cerceau claimed that La Fontaine had looked to the Middle Ages (specifically François Villon) for an affected 'naïveté'. Another writer, the Abbé Pierre-Joseph d'Olivet, felt that La Fontaine had looked rather more to Marot. Either way, for d'Olivet, the 'style marotique' captured what he called the 'genre naïf'.[7] This prized cultivated naïveté drew for its inspiration not only on medieval literature, but also on contemporary folk songs, for something about them reminded people of the Middle Ages, or at least a more primitive time. As Michel Eyquem de Montaigne wrote in his *Essais* (1588): 'Popular and purely natural poetry contains naïve and elegant elements, by which it achieves that chief beauty of artistically perfect poetry; examples of this are *villanelles* [rustic songs] of Gascogne, or songs which are brought back from nations which have no knowledge of either science or even writing'.[8] For Montaigne, the latter songs were not recorded in writing, but transmitted orally – 'naturally', as he put it. The naïveté which was the essence of these songs was due to their authors' lack of knowledge of 'science or even writing'. As for his 'villanelles of Gascogne', this was not the last time that folk music from the south of France would be used to evoke a primitive naïveté, as we shall see. Implicit in this statement was that the *art de trobar* was in touch with *l'antiquité*.

Alongside this more idealized view of the Middle Ages was an increasingly scholarly study of the troubadours and trouvères by two authors in particular, Jean de Nostredame and Claude Fauchet. Jean de Nostredame, brother of the famous prophet Michel and a procurator at the parliamentary court of Aix-en-Provence, produced *Les vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux* in 1575: the lives, accompanied by poetic excerpts, of seventy-six troubadours based on his study of troubadour poetry and *vidas*.[9] Other researchers on the troubadours included Guillaume Catel and Honoré Bouche in the seventeenth century.[10] Turning to the trouvères, we find the

president of the *Cour des Monnaies*, Claude Fauchet, conducting important research on medieval sources. Most important for us is his *Recueil des poetes françois* (1581), a presentation of 127 trouvères active before 1300 based on his first-hand consultation of medieval sources.[11] Fauchet emphasized that these poets had been virtually ignored up until his time, and that he was rescuing them from oblivion.[12] His landmark work was revered in its time: both the Sieur de La Croix du Maine and Antoine Duverdier, in their 1584–5 catalogues, plundered Fauchet's biographical research;[13] Etienne Pasquier, in the seventh book of his *Recherches de la France* (1607 edition), also relied on him.[14] Fauchet's *Recueil* subsequently became a standard reference source for trouvère song.

From Nostredame and Fauchet's foundational research, a clear historical picture of the troubadours and trouvères began to emerge. Nostredame placed troubadour activity in a 250-year span between the mid-twelfth century and the late fourteenth century. He differentiated the troubadours from musical performers, called *musars* and *juglars*, and cited such genres as the *tenso*, *sirventes* and *pastorela*.[15] Claude Fauchet distinguished the *trouveurs*, or *trouverres*, as composers, from the *jongleurs*, or *jugleors*, as performers. He placed their activity between Charlemagne (*d.* 814) and Henry II's reign, locating their flowering in the thirteenth century under Philip II (*d.* 1223) and Louis IX (*d.* 1270). He also categorized Old French genres, such as *chansons*, lais, ballades (actually a later genre), *fabliaux* (which he defined elsewhere as 'contes de plaisir') and *romans* (by which he probably meant more courtly or heroic stories).[16] Both Nostredame and Fauchet's books were unprecedented historical studies of troubadour and trouvère art, and they both would be cited as authorities for the next two centuries.

THE LEGENDS CONTINUED

Fauchet's claim that he had rescued the trouvères from oblivion would be heard again in the early eighteenth century and at the beginning of the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries. So this later claim was hardly true, although persuasive and even understandable: after all, who wanted to hear well-known old news? The shock of resurrection made a far better story. Although Fauchet's historical research had added much that was new regarding the trouvères, even his interest owed something to the old courtly topoi still found in Renaissance songs, as in the fourteenth-century *pastourelle* cited later in this chapter. The reception of the troubadour and trouvères after the Middle Ages was less a series of resurrections than a

continuous transmission from the medieval chansonniers on; and this consistent repute was due in no small part to their legends.

Where did these legends occur in this period? For one, in Nostredame's *Vies*. More than just a simple historical survey of the troubadours, the *Vies* was a defence of sixteenth-century southern French culture in which its author freely combined fact and fiction. As such, it is a striking example of how the free approach of the 'style marotique' type and the historical study of medieval sources could be combined. At the time of Nostredame's writing, the Huguenots, the majority of whom had emigrated to the south of France, were being persecuted by a largely Catholic north. Nostredame's own library was plundered in 1562, during the turmoil following the massacre of some 200 Huguenots at Vassy (Calvados, Normandy).[17] This event launched the Wars of Religion which ended when the Edict of Nantes was passed in 1589. The troubadours, therefore, were a significant choice for study in 1575. The Wars of Religion recalled the thirteenth-century Albigensian Crusade, a northern political oppression of the south under religious pretexts.

By his own declaration, Nostredame's aim in publishing his *Vies* was to defend southern patrimony, to 'demonstrate the antiquity of several noblemen from Provence and the Languedoc', as stated in his subtitle. Although most of his troubadours' names were taken directly from medieval sources, a few were anagrams for contemporary names. Several prominent sixteenth-century Languedocians and Provençaux made cameo appearances as troubadours. For example, Nostredame's so-called 'Monge des Isles d'Or' ('The Monk of the Golden Islands'), a cleric cited throughout as one of his primary medieval sources, was in fact the author's contemporary, a historian by the name of Reimond de Soliés. Nostredame described another troubadour, Ancelme de Mostiere, as a rich citizen of fourteenth-century Avignon, an astrologer, and a 'reputé savant en matiere d'anciennes propheties'. This was none other than Jean's older brother Michel de Nostredame, author of the famous *Centuries astrologiques* (1555).[18]

In Nostredame's *Vies*, past and present were conflated; the troubadours lived on in the sixteenth century. The prophesying Michel de Nostredame became the martyred Guilhelm de Cabestaign's contemporary, and the 'Monge des Isles d'Or' turned out to be a living troubadour. This clever game of hidden identities was something which later moderns could simply not tolerate. For them, the *Vies* played too loosely with the medieval troubadours; it did not sufficiently separate past from present lives. Joseph Anglade denounced this 'mauvais petit livre', and Nathan Edelman called it 'one of the worst scandals in the history of medieval studies'.[19]

Following Nostredame, the blending of the historical past with present preoccupations would continue to operate in troubadour historiography and this, from surprising sources. The reputed historian Etienne Pasquier, for instance, wrote that the Languedoc had been named in the Middle Ages after the 'Langue de Got', that is of 'Gothic times', a claim with no historical backing, to my knowledge.[20] Southern historian Guillaume Catel in the seventeenth century basically accepted Pasquier's etymology.[21] An even more far-fetched term for Old Occitan in the seventeenth century was the *langue torte* or *tortue*, meaning twisted, implying that the medieval southern tongue was a corruption.[22] Some equally curious associations were made with the word 'troubadours'. As Gretchen Peters' recent archival work has shown, it was common practice in the Midi from the early fourteenth century on to call a minstrel trumpeter, a *trombador* or *trompator*.[23] Nostredame traced this appellation back to Alessandro Vellutello's 1538 commentary on Petrarch and considered it inauthentic.[24] This did not stop historian Honoré Bouche from picking up Vellutello's remark and referring to the *troubadours* as composers, akin to Fauchet's northern *trouverres*, and to *troumbadours* as performers of the trumpet. This etymology endured as authoritative for over a century – it was still cited in the *Encyclopédie*.[25] Another striking statement was made by Bouche's contemporary, Claude-François Menestrier. Menestrier described a group of contemporary 'troubadours' processing in a 1659 'pompe en forme de masquarade' at Marseille in a celebration of the Treaty of the Pyrénées: 'In the seventh row, there came a crowd of troubadours all crowned with peacock feathers, which in the old days were awarded them in the famous circles of the great ladies from that province; they were all dressed in the old-fashioned way, with long wigs, singing lustily in their zeal, with lutes and golden harps.'[26] This curious reference to troubadours and peacock feathers did not end with Menestrier. It would be expanded upon in the eighteenth century by no less a reputable scholar than Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, who would also supply his own explanation for this curious practice: 'The eyes represented on the peacock's feathers which appear to surround it when it fans its tail, symbolize the eyes of all fixed on the troubadours as they listen to their songs'.[27] It is clear that the medieval penchant for legend-making had not died out.

It had, in fact, been active in the transmission of troubadour and trouvère lives from the beginning, as discussed in chapter 1. These accounts spread after the Middle Ages, as part of a growing literary interest in medieval stories such as that of Geneviève de Brabant.[28] One of the means of transmitting these stories was the so-called 'Bibliothèque Bleue'. Beginning in

the early seventeenth century, merchants sold inexpensive books usually wrapped in blue paper – hence the name – to a largely rural clientele. These anonymous stories ranged in themes from criminal lives to biographies, some originating in the Middle Ages. As with the troubadour and trouvère legends of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, little attempt was made to prevent fiction from encroaching on fact. Several of these were especially popular, such as the thirteenth-century chanson de geste *Histoire de Huon de Bordeaux* and the early fifteenth-century hagiographical work *Histoire de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne*.[29] In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, this interest in medieval lives fused with a fascination with the supernatural and fairy tales by a growing number of women authors. Stories such as 'La Belle au Bois Dormant' and 'Ricdin-Ricdon' were first read aloud to an audience primarily of noble women, and were subsequently published by such authors as Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon. Villandon's *La Tour Ténébreuse et Les Jours Lumineux* (1705) took as its departure point the story of Richard I the Lionhearted's deliverance by Blondel.[30]

Other trouvère legends mentioned at the end of the last chapter persist throughout this period.[31] For one, Nostredame transmits the tale of Guillem de Cabestaing. The basic outline of the story is the same as the medieval *vida*, with certain alterations, such as the lady's name, which he gives as Tricline Carbonnelle. In a French rendition of his Occitan source, Nostredame takes special relish, as did the original author, in the episode of the eating of the heart followed by the husband's query, 'la viande que vous avez mangee est elle bonne?'– a slight departure from the *vida*'s 'sabetz vos so que vos avetz manjat?' cited in chapter 1. To which Tricline responds, 'ouy, la meilleure que ie mangeay iamais'.[32] Claude Fauchet gives the parallel tale of the Châtelain de Coucy, citing the husband's suspenseful revelation 'Dame avez vous mangé bonne viande?' and the Dame de Fayel's response 'qu'elle l'avoit mangée bonne', from an unnamed medieval chronicle.[33] The Châtelain de Coucy version of the eaten heart resurfaces in the *Livre des amours du Chastellain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel* from the 1460s.[34] As for Richard the Lionhearted's rescue, the story is cited frequently from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries by many authors, including Fauchet. He decided that it was safe to assume the Blondel cited by the Reims chronicler (chapter 1, p. xx) was the trouvère Blondel de Nesle, an assumption which would remain unquestioned for some time.[35]

Fauchet also transmitted the story of Thibaut de Champagne's love for Blanche de Castille from the *Grandes Chroniques de France* which he had consulted. To the *Chronique*'s statement that Thibaut had his songs written

in his room at Provins and in Troyes ('Et les fist escripre en la sale a Provins et en celle de Troyes'[36]), Fauchet added the following remark which was subsequently to cause considerable confusion: 'And one can still see remainders of them [i.e., Thibaut's songs] painted on the castle of Provins, in the prison'. Apparently, he understood the *Chronique*'s words 'en la sale a Provins' as meaning '*on* [the walls of] the room at Provins'.[37] And, according to Fauchet's reputable testimony, remnants of Thibaut's poems still adorned what then remained of Thibaut's palace in the late sixteenth century. This would not be the last of this legend concerning Thibaut.

These legends sprawling the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries not only guaranteed the enduring fame of the trouvères and troubadours and other characters associated with them, they also shaped an authorial canon. Nostredame's troubadours included Jaufre Rudel, Folquet de Marselha, Bernart de Ventadorn and Arnaut Daniel; Fauchet, Pasquier and others followed the medieval sources in giving prominence to trouvères such as Thibaut de Champagne and the Châtelain de Coucy. Through their legends, trouvères such as Guillelm de Cabestaing, Thibaut de Champagne and the Châtelain de Coucy, along with characters such as Renart and Tristan, never completely left public consciousness after the Middle Ages.

NATIONALISM AND THE MIDDLE AGES

The period between 1400 and 1700 was of crucial importance in establishing an historical image of the Middle Ages, complete with stereotypes which have endured to the present time: a good old days where supernatural events sometimes took place, and where naïve and brave people sang rough but unspeakably beautiful songs. By 1700, this stereotype was thick in the air and therefore unquestioningly assimilated by Enlightenment music historians, who owed the greater part of their vision of medieval music to the work of antiquarians and literary historians of the Renaissance. The brave jousting knight, for example, pervaded representations of the Middle Ages and eventually became assimilated with the generic troubadour beginning in the Enlightenment and continuing on to the present time, as any number of filmed depictions of the Middle Ages nowadays will remind us. This particular association owed to two other characters besides the ones already mentioned who had no historical connection to the troubadours and trouvères: the fictional French knight Amadis of Gaul and the eighth-century commander Roland. More so than any troubadour or trouvère, Amadis and Roland emerged in the sixteenth century as the most popular representatives of the Middle Ages, and they eventually made their way in

musical works before 1700: Amadis was made famous in operas by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1684) and André Cardinal Destouches (1699), and *Roland* (1685) was the title of a tragédie lyrique by Lully, discussed at the end of this chapter. The nationalistic literary debates that gradually developed around these two characters would have a long lasting effect on all medieval topics; and the Song of Roland would become closely associated with the songs of the troubadours and trouvères. So it is worthwhile to spend a little time here discussing their reception from the Renaissance on.

Although both Amadis and Roland originated in France, it was in Spain and Italy that their legends were first revived. The French sources for the Amadis legend are lost, although some have traced it back to the story of Tristan and Yseult. A full-scale revival of this legend erupted in Spain with Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo's posthumously published 1508 *Amadís de Gaula*. De Montalvo's work was then translated into French as *Amadis de Gaule* by Nicolas de Harberay between 1540 and 1548, and Harberay's *Amadis* rapidly became a French best-seller.[38] Harberay's version of the story takes place principally in Brittany, London and Scotland, and relates the military exploits of the knight Amadis, his love for the princess Oriane and his troubled relationship with her father Lisuart; the tale is not without fantastical elements, such as the enchanteress Urgande. *Amadis* endured both as a sixteenth-century ideal of medieval chivalry and an object of satire in Cervantes' *Don Quijote* (1605). It was celebrated by scholars and non-specialist readers alike for its exemplary nationalism. Jacques Tahureau wrote in 1565 of its 'grace et naïsve beauté', once again associating the Middle Ages with an ineffable naïveté.[39] Etienne Pasquier gushed over Harberay's *Amadis*, where 'you can pluck the prettiest flowers of our French tongue'.[40] It represented a literary and historical ideal which helped raise the Middle Ages to the status of *antiquité françoise*.

The *Chanson de Roland* (not its medieval name), on the other hand, harked back to an historical event.[41] Roland, Charlemagne's commander, died in 778 while defending the rearguard of the emperor's army at Roncesvalles, Spain. The exact date of the chanson de geste composed in his honour is unknown; it is first transmitted in twelfth-century manuscripts. It relates a glorified version of Roland's death, the high point being the hero's final prayer ('Deus, meie culpe') and Charlemagne's lament ('U estes vos, bels niés?').[42] A rendition of this Old French legend in Latin appeared around the same time, the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*. Its purported author was Turpin, a priest in the original chanson de geste who related a first-hand account in which Roland's confessional prayer, for example ('Domine Jhesu Christe'), was much expanded.[43] This account

was translated into Old French around 1210, where Roland's prayer began 'Beau sire Jhesu Crist'.[44] Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia* was frequently copied from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.[45]

Whereas in these versions the so-called Song of Roland was suggestive of the hero's dying prayer, it is clear that elsewhere it was understood as a battle cry, or war song. The earliest account of this is English historian William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* in the early twelfth century. William relates how, at the Battle of Hastings (1066), the French army took up Roland's song as they went into battle: 'Then the soldiers began the song of Roland so that the martial example of this man should excite them, and calling upon God's help, they began the fight and most bitter battle, with neither side yielding until late in the day'.[46] William's account was apparently the starting point for later sources, the first of which was Wace, who, in his *Roman de Rou* (1160), specifically named a minstrel-warrior Taillefer as the one singing of Roland's exploits: 'Taillefer, who sang very well, rode before the duke [William] on a speedy horse, singing of Charlemagne, Roland, Olivier and his men who died at Roncevalles'.[47] Later writers such as the thirteenth-century English historian Matthew Paris in his *Chronica majora* cited William of Malmesbury's account nearly verbatim, replacing 'cantilena' with 'cantus Rolandi'.[48] Roland's heroism is cited by later writers such as Dante who do not appear to have known of the twelfth-century chanson de geste. Fauchet and others were familiar with Matthew Paris' passage, but here again, did not cite the chanson de geste.[49] Certainly by Fauchet's time, it seems to have been unclear just what the 'Song of Roland' was: a war cry used in the Battle of Hastings, Roland's dying prayer mentioned in Turpin's *Historia*, or one of several orally-transmitted legends about his death?

To make matters even more confusing, the medieval versions of the Roland legend were soon obscured in favour of Lodovico Ariosto's enormously popular *Orlando furioso* which was only loosely based on medieval material. Popular recited versions of the legend were circulating around Ferrara in the late fifteenth century, where resided Lodovico Ariosto. And they were most likely in part the inspiration for his *Orlando furioso*, first published in 1516, with a third, definitive version in 1532.[50] Sprawling over forty cantos, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* focused on the hero's madness brought on by his love for the enemy princess Angelica and his final recovery, just in time to defeat the Saracens outside of Paris. This was largely a fictitious development, but we should remember that the *Orlando* was only intended in the first place as a literary imitation of the Roland tale. Rather than following the medieval story exactly, the *imitatio* adapted its model

to the sensibilities of the current time; an imitation was in many ways a new work.[51] Ariosto added to the confusion over the identity of the Song of Roland when he called his *Orlando* a collection of songs ('canti'), in imitation of Latin antiquity: his first *canto* opens with the words 'Of ladies and knights . . . I sing' ('Le donne, i cavallier . . . io canto'), recalling the opening of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In sixteenth-century France, when the original chanson de geste was no longer known, Ariosto's 'song' provided a substitute for the medieval Song of Roland which quickly became a best-seller thanks to its many imitators and translators. French translations, generally entitled *Roland furieux*, began to appear from the 1500s on: those by Jean Martin (1544), François de Rosset (1615), Robert Fouet (1623) and Jean de Mairet (1640), to name a few. The warrior Roland, as Amadis, so frequently read and invoked, came to represent *l'antiquité françoise* for sixteenth-century readers and to help shape an emerging image of the Middle Ages. Until at least the nineteenth century, Ariosto's version of the Roland story was better known than the medieval versions, and it would inspire the libretto for Lully's stage work discussed at the end of this chapter, among others. Certainly by 1700, the identity of the Song of Roland had become so diluted as to allow for many and often free interpretations, as we shall see in chapter 3.

The nationalistic context of these developments is crucial. The reception of the Amadis and Roland legends came out of a Franco-Italian debate over medieval literatures which itself was linked to the emergence of nationalism in both countries during this period. This debate, of course, went back to earlier writers, in particular Dante and Petrarch.[52] As discussed in the previous chapter, both of these writers defended the vernacular as equal to Latin, and both looked to the troubadours and trouvères as models. With a growing interest among Italian nobility in learned works in the late fourteenth century, there arose the need to translate Latin texts into an Italian vernacular. Certain writers like Ercole Strozzi refused to grant any Italian dialect the status of Latin; others, such as Pietro Bembo, advocated Tuscan as an appropriate substitute, since Tuscan was, after all, the language of Petrarch.[53] Works in the vernacular and in its defence were written, such as Ariosto's *Orlando* and Bembo's *Le Prose* (1525). By mid-century, this surge of literary activity had travelled north of the Alps, thanks to the increased contact between France and Italy due to the Franco-Italian Wars (1494–1526) and the marriage of Henry II with the Tuscan Catherine de' Medici.[54] Poets such as Clément Marot and Pierre Ronsard followed in the steps of this Italian Petrarchism, Ronsard writing sonnets to his Cassandre just as Petrarch had done to his Laura. These same French writers

fought for the empowerment of their own vernacular. François Du Bellay's 1549 manifesto, *Defense et illustration de la langue françoise*, was the French answer to Bembo's *Le Prose*, and ultimately led to the heightened prestige of French language and culture in the following century.[55] As early as 1555, Thomas Sibilet wrote that, despite its crudity, the French language of *antiquité* (by which he meant Old French), 'should be venerated by us as our mother and mistress'.[56] This activity in turn led to an international debate over which language, French or Italian, should rightly be used instead of Latin.[57]

The importance of this debate to troubadour and trouvère song lay in a related historical question which arose from it, a question which would become the starting point for the already mentioned historical research on the troubadours and trouvères. To paraphrase Pietro Bembo: 'Who were the inventors of vernacular verse?'[58] This question, of course, was not new. It went back to Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and to the rise of the vernaculars in the Middle Ages. Bembo and others after him claimed that the troubadours were the inventors of vernacular verse and, close on their heels, the Sicilians at the court of Frederic II, leading directly to Petrarch.[59] Italian writers furthermore viewed Old Occitan as being more closely related to Tuscan than French. For Bembo, the 'Provenzali' belonged to Italy's cultural heritage: were not several great troubadours from Italy, such as Folquet de Marselha, whose family came from Genoa?[60] In reaction to this, several French writers reclaimed the troubadours as their own. Pasquier stated that the Italians had borrowed from 'nos Provençaux'; César-Pierre Richelet, writing in 1672, felt that France had taught Italy how to rhyme through the troubadours.[61] French and Italian literati continued to banter back and forth on this question until the late seventeenth century. One of the last great polemical Italian writers in this debate was Mario Giovanni Crescimbeni, whose *Istoria della volgar poesia* (1698) and its longer commentary (five volumes published between 1702 and 1711) demonstrated the close affinities between the troubadours and the earliest great Italian writers, and even provided a heavily amplified translation of Nostredame's *Vies*. Crescimbeni was also the first to publish a trouvère melody, as we shall see in the next chapter.[62]

Out of this Franco-Italian debate came Fauchet and Pasquier's historical research discussed earlier. The trouvères, and Old French literature in general, became the rivals to Dante and Petrarch – and ultimately, to the troubadours. The northern medieval poets united with the Pleïade and other contemporary writers. They were the defenders of France's literary heritage, the lyric poets of its Golden Age. The seventeenth century

witnessed an explosion of historical research related to this, as in the founding of academies which studied history to reinforce France's greatness, from the founding in 1635 of the *Académie Française* to Du Cange's *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis* (1678), which laid the groundwork for the study of Old French.[63] So great was this push in the historical study of French medieval literature and arts that, by the 1680s, some reacted in the so-called 'Querelle des anciens et des modernes', questioning whether the study of older literature was even a worthwhile activity.

This new historical research in France, the ongoing need to choose the trouvères over the troubadours in the literary conflict with Italy, a strong central government under Louis XIV (1643–1715), and the increasing standardization of the French language all led to a suppression of Occitan culture.[64] As the trouvères came to represent France, the troubadours, all too often associated with Italy, were intentionally neglected.

The history of the *Consistori de la Subragaya Companhia del Gay Saber* from 1400 to 1700 illustrates this decline of Occitan song well. Following its inception in 1323, the *Consistori* produced more and more poems in French rather than Occitan until 1513, when the last prize was awarded to an Occitan work. Already by the late 1400s, the *Consistori* name had switched in popular use to the *Jeux Floraux*, after the ancient Floral Games at Rome, a reference to classical antiquity rather than the Middle Ages.[65] Around 1550, the title *Collège de Rhétorique* was adopted, in imitation of the Parisian rhetoricians. Poets now wrote ballades and *chants royaux* after Clément Marot and Pierre Ronsard. Parisian poets such as Ronsard and Jean-Antoine Du Baïf even became recipients of prizes from the Toulouse *Collège* in the second half of the century.[66] Finally, in 1694, Louis XIV officially renamed the *Collège* the *Académie des Jeux Floraux*. The erstwhile *Consistori* had joined the ranks of seventeenth-century French acadamies. Its future members would include Voltaire and Victor Hugo, and prizes for poetry in Occitan would not be awarded until the nineteenth century.[67] In its effort to standardize and unify language and culture, France had thus effectively stamped out the *art de trobar*, including its musical echoes. The only documented musical events were the trumpets and oboes which regularly opened the floral games as well as the occasional newly composed cantata – in French, of course, not Occitan.[68]

Despite the foundational work of Jehan de Nostredame, the troubadours were subsequently all but abandoned in French scholarship. They would not be given serious scholarly attention in France until the early nineteenth century. And it was not until a little over 100 years ago that the first modern scholarly studies of troubadour music appeared.

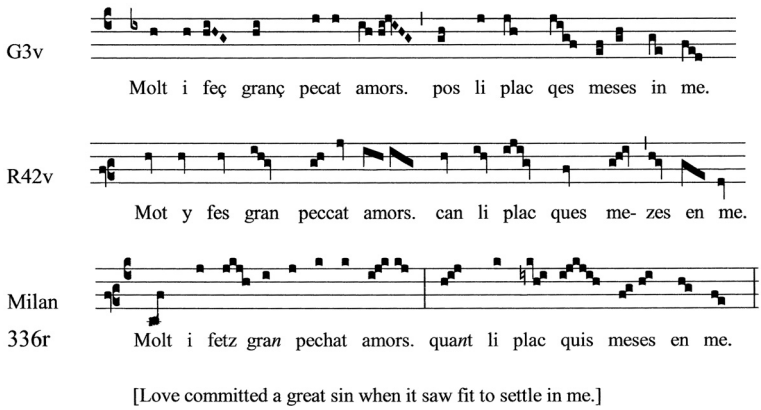
Thus during the period under consideration, great advances were made in a deeper acquaintance with the Middle Ages; and as the *antiquité françoise* developed into fertile grounds for both creative imitations and scholarly research activities, the troubadours and trouvères became increasingly a point of focus. It would seem at first glance that troubadour and trouvère music was practically ignored during this time. It certainly is not found in the earliest modern music histories.[69] Most of these, when discussing music before 1400, focused primarily on Ancient Greek music theory. When it came to medieval music, Guido of Arezzo might be cited, but no mention was made of troubadour or trouvère song. Athanasius Kirchner's *Musurgia universalis* (1650) and Angelini Bontempi's *Historia musica* (1695), for example, were primarily concerned with medieval theory (especially Guido and the Guidonian hand), modality and mensural music; early scholars of plainchant such as Pierre-Benoît de Jumilhac (*La science et la pratique du plainchant*, 1673) covered similar territory. For none of these writers were the trouvères worth studying, then, since they did not yet belong to the literary canon. For a genuine interest in troubadour and trouvère music, we must look outside these more predictable sources to a largely literary context.

The period prior to 1700 does in fact present us with the earliest stereotype of 'early music', the first efforts to envision what melodies from the *antiquité françoise* could have sounded like, as well as the earliest antiquarian investigations of chansonnier melodies. This important activity comes about largely as a by-product of the primarily literary research on medieval languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although we have admittedly limited surviving evidence that certain antiquarians were copying troubadour and trouvère chansonnier melodies (to be discussed shortly), there is reason to believe that more copies were made than have survived. Given the heightened interest in the troubadours in Italy during the sixteenth century especially, it is quite possible that a good deal of troubadour melodies were copied from the chansonniers; Santorre Debenedetti has described the extensive copying of troubadour manuscripts by Bembo and others.[70] At the same time in France, Fauchet and Pasquier commented on trouvère musical notation which they noticed as they paged through the old chansonniers. For his work on the *Recueil*, Fauchet made marginal annotations in chansonniers L and a and extensively studied the now lost Chansonnier de Mesmes (see p. 24).[71] He described the latter in his entry on 'Thiebault, Roy de Navarre' as 'the most complete and carefully researched among those I have consulted on these matters'. The

songs, he observed, were 'notées à une voix'.[72] In a letter to Pierre Ronsard probably dating from the 1550s, Etienne Pasquier remarked that, in the medieval chansonnier he consulted (it is not clear which one), above every first strophe of every song was found 'la Musique ancienne'. Pasquier felt this demonstrated how greatly trouvère songs were valued in their time.[73] Around the same time, bibliophile Antoine du Verdier cites his own handwritten copy of Thibaut's songs, although he does not say if he included music.[74]

The evidence for antiquarian interest in chansonnier melodies is as follows. One copied troubadour melody has survived: we find the music for the first two verses of Folquet de Marselha's 'Molt i fes gran peccat' (PC 155,14), copied on folio 336r of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, manuscript 465 inf., a collection of various literary works from the 1500s. The section is headed by the words 'Alcune Canzoni Provenzali messe in Musica' ('A Few Provençal Songs Set to Music'). The scribe clearly had plans to copy more than the one tune. Two blank folios follow, on which more melodies were to be written.[75] Although this Renaissance reading differs from its extant medieval counterparts, there are some similarities, especially with troubadour chansonnier G, interestingly also housed in Milan, although its exact date of entry into the Biblioteca Ambrosiana is not known. All three readings revolve around C and D, and a similar melodic shape is observed, especially in the second phrase. It appears, therefore, that the Renaissance scribe had access to a medieval source for this melody, although perhaps not one now extant (see example 2.1).[76]

A second piece of evidence comes from the close of our period, probably the last decade of the seventeenth century. The antiquarian movement led by France of Fauchet, Pasquier and du Verdier described earlier promoted an enduring interest in the medieval chansonniers. It is during the 1600s that we hear more specifics concerning the whereabouts of some extant chansonniers. Chansonniers Q, R and U entered the royal library from the collections of private owners in the 1600s.[77] Chansonnier M was purchased by cardinal Mazarin's curator Gabriel Naudé as he scoured Europe for old books, probably in the 1640s, before it was taken into the royal collection in 1668.[78] Sometime between 1650 and her death in 1689, Christina of Sweden added chansonnier a to her imposing collection of manuscripts, whence it was placed by Pope Alexander VIII in the Vatican collection.[79] Another private owner during this time was the Dijon lawyer Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval (1648–1722), who owned chansonnier O before it was given to the Châtre de Cangé a couple of years after Dairval's death. Copies of a handful of melodies from O were made in the last decades


G3v
Molt i feç granç pecat amors. pos li plac qes meses in me.
R42v
Mot y fes gran peccat amors. can li plac ques me- zes en me.
Milan
336r
Molt i fetz gran pechat amors. quant li plac quis meses en me.

[Love committed a great sin when it saw fit to settle in me.]

Example 2.1: Three readings of Folquet de Marselha's 'Molt y fes gran peccat': troubadour chansonniers G and R, and sixteenth-century manuscript Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 465 inf., folio 336r

of the seventeenth century while it was still in Dairval's ownership. Two identical copies of its first six melodies have survived: BnF ffr 12610, and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303, to be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3. These are eighteenth-century copies of a late seventeenth-century original. From Henri Omont's inventory of the Bibliothèque nationale manuscript, we learn that the original copyist was Bartholémy Rémy, the *valet de chambre* and personal scribe of François-Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715) whose important role in the historiography of music Elizabeth Aubrey has recently uncovered.[80] Baudelot de Dairval acquired O most likely sometime in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, by which time he had amassed medieval books and other antiquities, and was corresponding with other private collectors throughout Europe – although he apparently travelled little outside of Dijon.[81] Rémy's copying of Dairval's manuscript must have occurred after 1680, when his patron Gaignières received the first of several pensions which freed him up to travel at his leisure and accumulate a museum-library famous throughout France in the 1690s; and it was most likely before 1703, at which time illness forced Gaignières to curtail his activities as a travelling antiquarian and return to Paris permanently.[82] Thus the most likely time period for Rémy's copy of O is somewhere between 1680 and 1700.

Given the subsequent importance of chansonnier O in the historiography of trouvère song, it is worth adding here a few details to what little is known of its earliest reception history. Although a mere *valet de chambre*,

Bartholémy Rémy's importance in connection to Gaignières' manuscripts should not be underestimated. It appears he had considerable say over his master's vast collection of antiquities, as some unedited documents from this period make clear.[83] At the time of his declining health, Gaignières gave to both Rémy and his wife Marie Le Clere (so named in one single source) increasing responsibility for his affairs and a commensurately high salary. Although there is good evidence that the royal genealogist Pierre de Clairambault (1651–1740) pillaged Gaignières' collection after it was sold to the king in 1711, there is also reason to suspect that Rémy may have helped himself prior to that, even selling books for his own profit. Letters to Gaignières' acquaintances dating from the 1710s accuse the valet of having taken advantage of his master – even causing his illness. Rémy at one point is called Gaignières' 'unfaithful *valet de chambre* who let him die of starvation and rot in trash while he bettered his own affairs at the expense of his master's'; another letter warns that Gaignières' 'manuscripts are at the disposal of a valet who might abuse them'.[84] So great was this suspicion by the spring of 1715 that a royal commissioner by the name of Jean-François Le Trouy Deslandes was sent to Gaignière's own apartments to draw up a report. His testimony of well over 100 pages is largely an account of a room-by-room tour of the lavish collection, a tour conducted under the guidance of none other than Barthélémy Rémy.[85] It appears that no action was taken, and Gaignières, who had been incapacitated for some time, quietly died while Deslandes was drawing up his report. Rémy's copies of medieval melodies, then, to which we now return, were hardly slavishly produced works, but most likely the products of a keen and enterprising mind.

The identifiable watermarks of the two near identical copies BnF ffr 12610–14 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303–6 date from the 1680s to the 1710s, suggesting that the earliest stages of these multi-volume copies went back to the last part of the seventeenth century, as I have mentioned.[86] What is more, BnF ffr 12610's first few folios contain erased markings not found in the Arsenal book; these can be seen on the right-hand column of figure 2.1. The crossed-out words in the top right-hand corner simply read 'This copy of Thibaut de Navarre's poetry was based on a manuscript of Mr. Baudelot d'Herval [i.e., Baudelot de Dairval]' ('Cette copie des poesies de Thibaut de Navarre a été faite sur un MS qui est dans la bibliothèque de M. Baudelot d'Herval'), an inscription which would make sense as Rémy's note of explanation for his copy made in the late seventeenth century. As seen in figure 2.1, however, these words were then crossed out by a distinctly later hand (most likely by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye), but

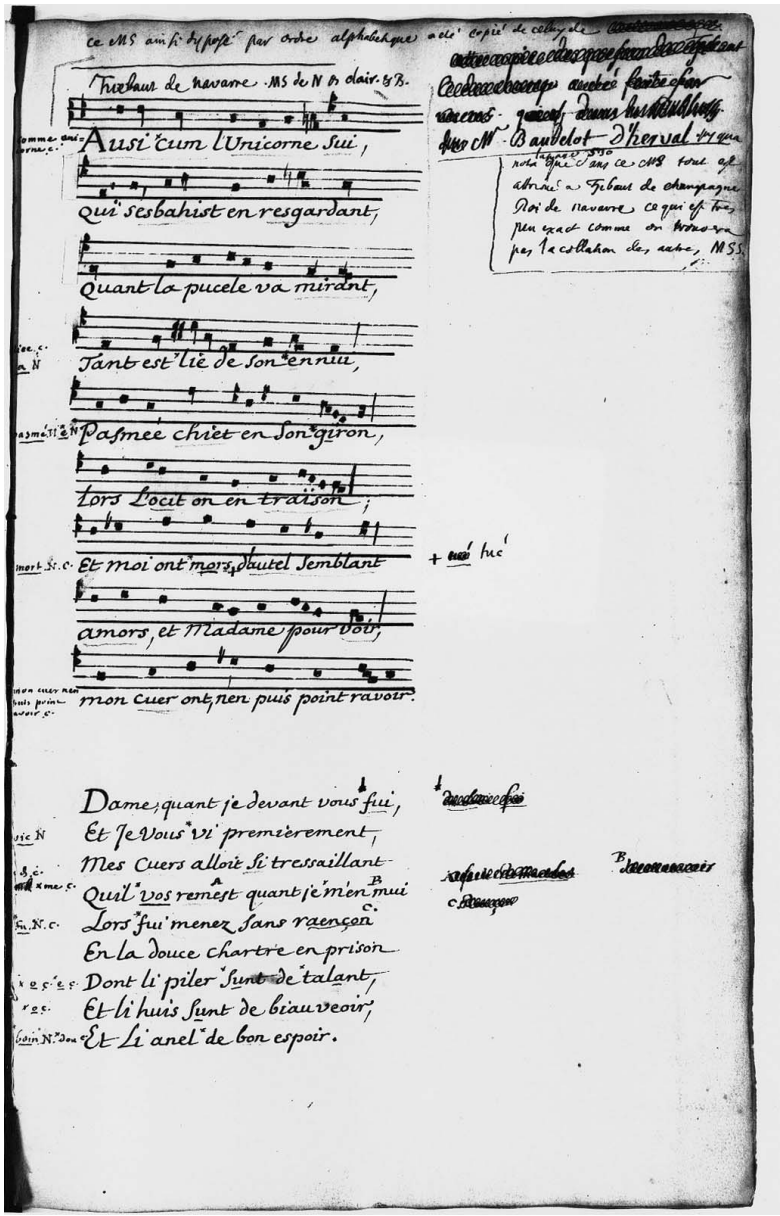

Thiebaut de navarre. MS de N. D. clair. 6 B.
Ausi cum l'Unicorne sui,
qui s'esbahist en resgardant,
Quant la pucele va mirant,
Tant est lié de son ennui,
Pasmee chiet en son giron,
Lors l'ocit on en traïson;
Et moi ont mors d'autel Semblant
amors, et Madame pour vous,
mon Cuer ont, nen puis point ravoir.
Dame, quant je devant vous fui,
Et je vous vi premierement,
Mes Cuers alloit si tressaillant
Qui'l vos remest quant je m'en mui
Lors fui menez sans raençon
En la douce chartre en prison
Dont li piler sunt de talant,
Et li huis sunt de biau veoir,
Et li anel de bon espoir.

Figure 2.1: Modern copy of chansonnier O's reading of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Ausi com l'unicorne sui': BnF ffr 12610, page 1

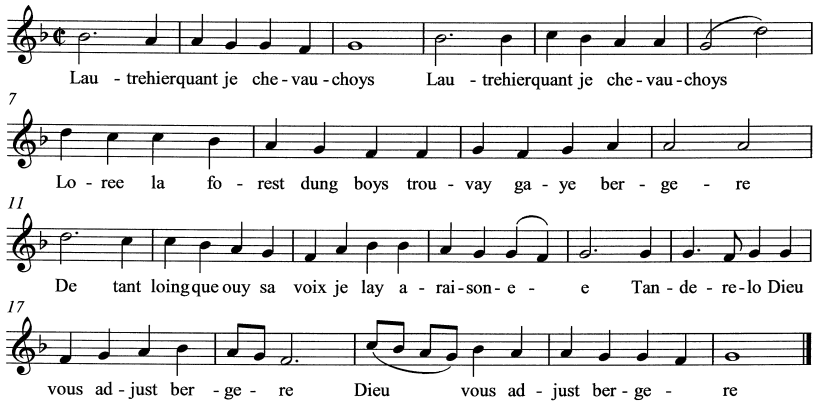
Baudelot de Dairval's name was retained, with the following, rather than the original inscription, added to come before it: 'This manuscript laid out in alphabetical order was copied from that of [Baudelot de Dairval]' ('Ce MS ainsi disposé par ordre alphabétique a été copié de celuy de'). Heading up this book, then, are what appear to be copies of Rémy's copies of a handful of chansonnier O's songs with music (the first few pages of BnF ffr 12610), followed by a much larger body of songs without music (the rest of BnF ffr 12610 and ffr 12611–14), with their characteristically Sainte-Palaye annotations described in the following chapter. The tell-tale erasures of BnF ffr 12610's first page are unavailable to a reader of its matching manuscript Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303 whose title page simply states: 'This manuscript laid out in alphabetical order was copied from that of Mr. Baudelot d'Herval' ('Ce MS ainsi disposé par ordre alphabetique a été copié de celuy de M. Baudelot d'Herval'); in this case, all references to an intermediary copy have disappeared. The further history of these copies is discussed in chapter 3.

Turning now to Rémy's copies of O's melodies, if we compare for a moment the first song from BnF ffr 12610 seen in figure 2.1 with the original melody from chansonnier O in figure 2.2, we notice that Rémy painstakingly reproduced the chansonnier's irregular sequence of *longae* and *breves*. As discussed in chapter 1, of all the extant chansonniers, this one contains the greatest number of mensural readings in a single source. It is significant that, at some point in his travels, Gaignières singled out chansonnier O as worthy of musical study. Unfortunately, no record survives explaining what he planned to do with O's copied melodies or even what drew him to this particular chansonnier. It is probable, though, that he had seen the music of other chansonniers and that he considered O of special musical interest in the reading of trouvère music because it differentiated long and short durations – a feature of the monophonic music of his day. Gaignières' interest in these trouvère musical readings, although only a passing antiquarian curiosity at the time, nonetheless marks the beginning of a long debate concerning the musico-historical importance of chansonnier O.

So an interest in troubadour and trouvère music had certainly begun by 1700, as our survey of these antiquarian copies makes clear. This was occurring at other levels too, for as early as the sixteenth century, literary scholars began drawing an increasingly specific picture of medieval music-making based on historical records. In his *Vies*, Nostredame made passing references to the musical abilities of certain troubadours he had found


Roy de Navarre
1.
Ausi com
lunicorne
sui qui fes
habit en vesgardant quant
la pucele ua mirant tant est
liz de son cuiur. pasmee chet
en son giron lors locir on en ta
son. & moi ont mort dautrel
semblant amors et ma dame
pour uoir mon cuer ot ne puis
Dame quant
ie deuant uous
pomt ranoir. fui & ie uous ui
premierem. mes cuers aloit
si tresfaillant quil uos remest
qui uos remet quant ie men mui
ne ualoit
Dame
ie ne men mui lors fui mens
sanz raencon en la doucé chaar
tre en prison dont li plest fair
de talant & il hues fist de biau
ucoir. et li amei de bon cuer poir
De la charrue a la clef anfois
er si ia vns. iij. porters. beau se
blant a non li premiers. & beau
tez cel en fait seignoriz. dongier
a mis aluis deuant vn ort felo
ul am puant. qui mest mauls
& pautoniers. cil troi lumi pu
et hardi. mout tost ont. i. amis
sans Qui pooir soffrir les
tresfoiurs & les cil aiz de ces huis
siers onques rolanz ne oliuiers
ne uaincquirent si forz estours. il
uaincquirent en combatant mais
cel uaincr on humiliant soffrir
en est confanonciers en cest es
tour donc ie uos di. ia nul se
cours fors de merci. chme
ie ne doui mais riens plus fors
tant que faille a uos amer. car
ai apris a enoiurer que ie sus
urés tout plus. et se il uos en
peisoit bien. ne men puis ie p
tir pour rien. car ie nai le remé
brer. & que mes cuers ne soit adés
en la prison et de moi pis Dame
qui ie ne sai guil mieuz saroit de
sanso mans de soffrir si grieuoul
fans.
mours me fait comen
R. de Navarre
C
N.

Figure 2.2: Thibaut de Champagne's 'Ausi com l'unicorne sui' from chansonnier O, fol. 1r


Lau - trehierquant je che - vau - choys Lau - trehierquant je che - vau - choys
7
Lo - ree la fo - rest dung boys trou - vay ga - ye ber - ge - re
11
De tant loing que ouy sa voix je lay a - rai - son - e - e Tan - de - re - lo Dieu
17
vous ad - just ber - ge - re Dieu vous ad - just ber - ge - re

Example 2.2: Anonymous fifteenth-century pastourelle 'L'autrier quant je chevauchois' (BnF ffr 12744, fols. 21v–22r)

in the medieval *vidas*.[87] He also associated the flute and the violin with *juglars* and *violars*, respectively, without citing a specific source.[88] In his *Recueil*, Fauchet pictured the trouvères singing at assemblies and feasts in the presence of princes. In support of this, he cited a passage from Huon de Méry's early thirteenth-century work *Tournoiemenz Antecrit*, where the entertainment attending a banquet feast is described: 'When the tables had been cleared, the jongleurs stood up, took their vielles and harps, and sang for us songs, tunes, lais, verses and refrains, as well as epic songs. The knights . . . had great fun as they danced'.[89] Fauchet wished here to make a parallel between the trouvères and the great poets of antiquity, specifically Homer. Like the Iliad and the Odyssey, Old French epics were recited at important festivals before great lords. Therefore, the songs of the trouvères from that more recent antiquity, the Middle Ages, deserved as much praise as those of the remote antiquity of Greece and Rome.

We have found so far that some interest in troubadour and trouvère music survives in fragmentary copies and the earliest scholarly studies on the Middle Ages, both rooted in antiquarians' first-hand acquaintance with the chansonniers. To these we may add a more indirect transmission of medieval music which relied on a looser oral transmission: the survival well into the 1600s of medieval genres such as the *pastourelle*. For example, in the fifteenth-century monophonic chansonnier Paris, BnF ffr 12744, there appear several *pastourelles* which bear a strong resemblance to those cited in chapter 1. Example 2.2 contains the music for one of them, 'L'autrier quant je chevauchois'.[90]

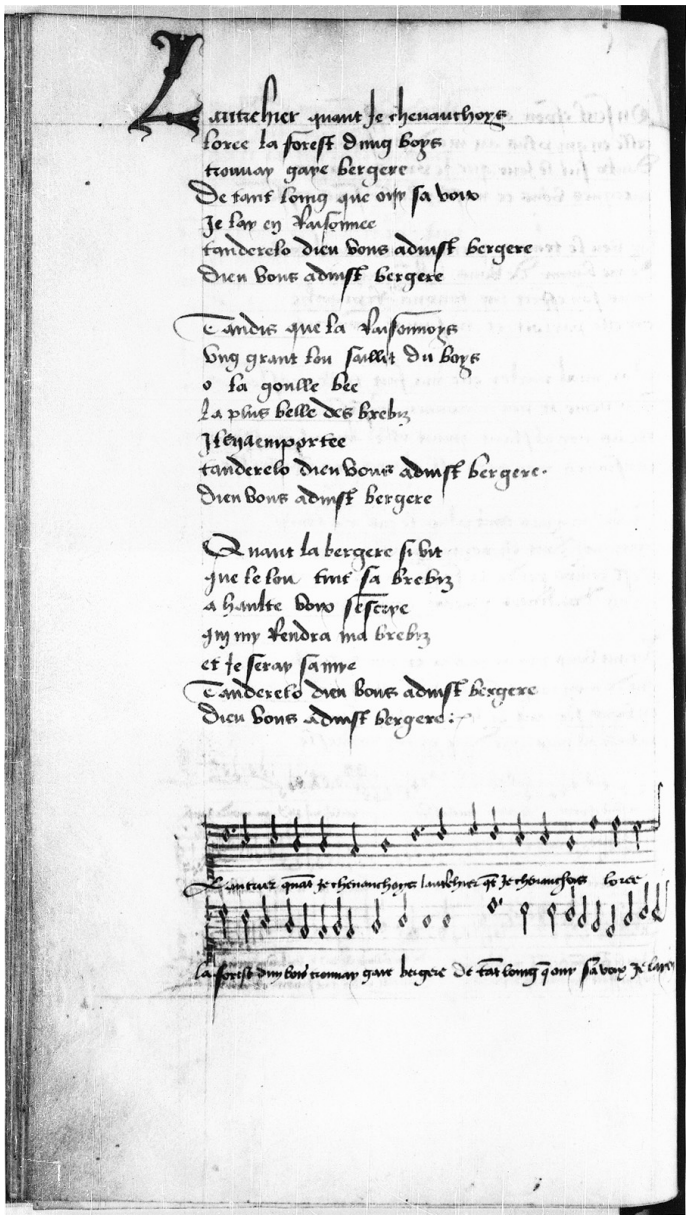

L autrier quant je chevauchoys
lonc la foreſt dung boys
trouvay gaye bergere
De tant lonng que ovr ſa bouche
Je lay cy transformee
tandereleo dieu dous admyſt bergere
Dieu dous admyſt bergere
Tandis que la transformoys
Ung grant lou ſaillit du boys
o la gorge bee
La plus belle des brebis
Hen a emportee
tandereleo dieu dous admyſt bergere
Dieu dous admyſt bergere
Quant la bergere ſi but
que le lou tint ſa brebis
a haulte dous ſe escrye
Jay my vendra ma brebis
et je ſeray ſa mye
tandereleo dieu dous admyſt bergere
Dieu dous admyſt bergere

Figure 2.3: Anonymous fifteenth-century *pastourelle* 'L'autrier quant je chevauchois' in BnF ffr 12744, fols. 21v–22r

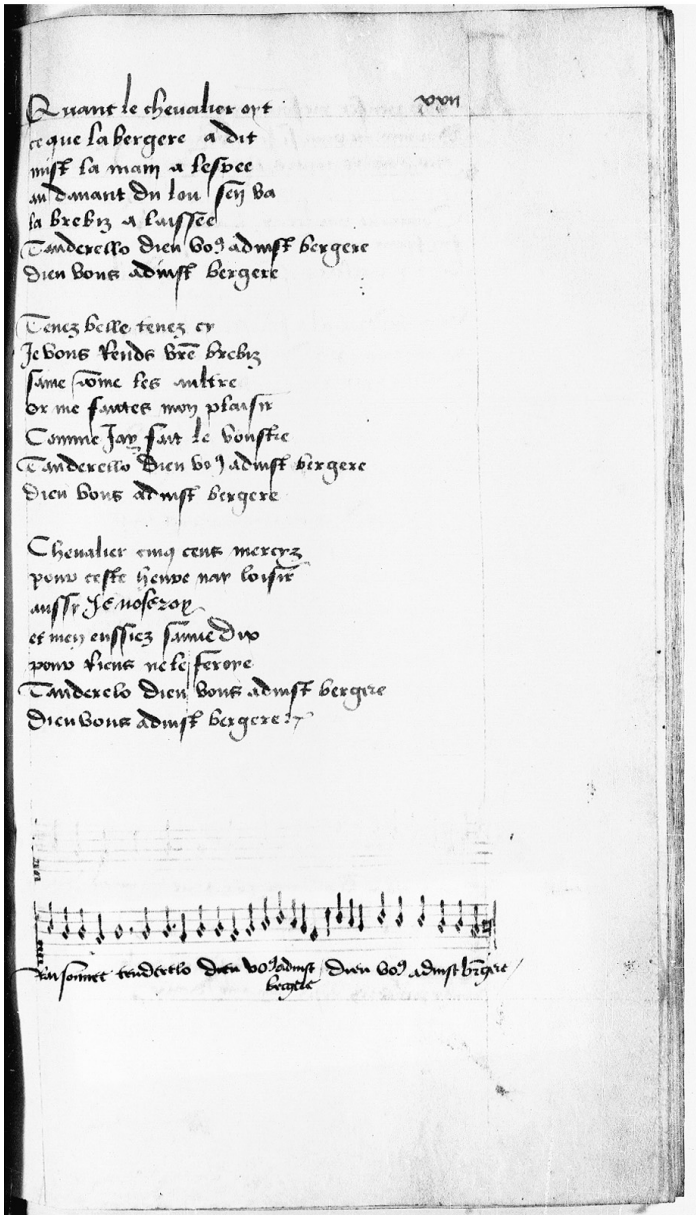

Quant le cheualier ot
ce que la bergere a dit
mist la main a lespee
au dmant du lou sen ba
la brebiz a lussee
Tmderello dieu bo[n] admist bergere
Dieu bons admist bergere
Tenez belle tenez cy
Je vous vends bre brebiz
Sime some les mettre
or me faites mon plaisir
Comme jay fait le boustie
Tmderello dieu bo[n] admist bergere
Dieu bons admist bergere
Chenalier emy cens mercyz
pour ceste hewre nay loisir
mestr Jemoseroy
et mes ensseez sime duc
pour viens nete ferore
Tmderello dieu bons admist bergere
Dieu bons admist bergere
en sommet tmderello dieu bo[n] admist bergere dieu bo[n] admist bergere

Figure 2.3 (*cont.*)

Its opening line is similar to the anonymous thirteenth-century *pastourelle* we have seen in example 1.6, 'L'autrier quant je chevauchoie desouz l'onbre d'un prael'. There are also similarities between the nonsensical 'tanderelo' sung here by the protagonist and expressions in medieval *pastourelles*. In addition, the catchy, repetitious musical phrases here remind us of the Marcabru *pastorela* (example 1.5); the simple, energetic rhythms found here also characterize the earlier Marcabru song. All in all, enough features coincide in these and other *pastourelles* to demonstrate a continuous transmission of this genre from Marcabru to the fifteenth century and beyond. Other genres such as the 'chanson de mal mariée' also survive in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century song.

Another instance of the survival of medieval song is the fascinating reception of the thirteenth-century refrain (or, more accurately, refrain-type[91]) 'Alegiez moi'. Unfortunately transmitted without a melody in monophonic sources, its text is given variously as 'Alegiez moi, dame' and 'Alegiés moi mes grans dolours'.[92] One version is found in the final strophe of the anonymous *pastourelle* 'De Mès a friscour l'autre jour' (RS 1991):

Alegiez moi ma grevence	[Relieve my grief,
douce dame, ke por vos ai;	Sweet lady, that I have for you;
mercit vos pri, ou je morrai.[93]	I beg you mercy, or I shall die.]

A similar text is found, this time with music, in the late thirteenth-century motet *Pucelete bele / Je langui / Domino*. It survives in Montpellier, Faculté des médecins, manuscript H 196 (fols. 193v–195r). Our refrain is found at the end of the duplum, or middle voice: 'Alegies moi douce amie ceste maladie qu'amors ne m'ocie' ('Relieve me of this sickness, sweet [lady] friend, before love kills me'). Example 2.3 contains that section.[94]

Whether or not the motet's duplum is based on a well-known setting of this refrain is impossible to say without more evidence, but one thing is certain, 'Alegiez moi's' survival in both chansonniers and motet collections attest to its popularity in the thirteenth century.

This medieval tune was still being sung some 300 years later. By then, it appears to have become a traditional tune which, as Michel Zink has put it, had been running through Clément Marot's head. Marot cites it in one of his *épigrammes*:

> La chanson est (sans en dire le son):
> 'Alegez moy, doulce, plaisant brunette.'
> Elle se chante à la vieille façon.[95]

[The song is (without giving the melody): 'Relieve me, sweet and pleasant brunette.' It is sung in the old-fashioned way.]

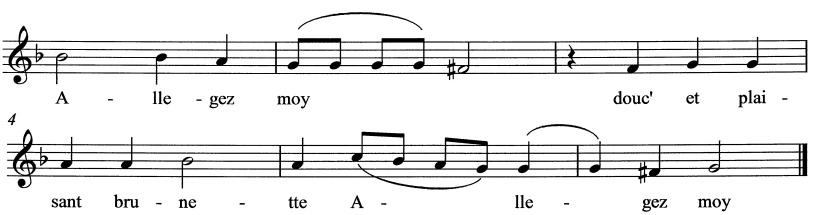

ma - mi - e - te la bru - ne - te jo - li - e - te - ment
A - le - gies moi, douce a - mi - e,
[DOMINO]
Bele a - mi - e qui ma vie en vo bail - lie a - ves te - nu - e
ce - ste ma - la - di - e,
tant je vous cri mer - ci en sou - spi - rant
qu'a - mours ne m'o - ci - e.

Example 2.3: Motet *Pucelete / Je langui / Domino*, excerpt with 'allegez moy' in duplum (Montpellier, Faculté des médecins, manuscript H 196, fols. 193v–195r)

For Marot, 'Alegiez moi' was being 'sung in the old-fashioned way' during his day; as such, it was a remnant of his 'bon vieulx temps'. As Zink further points out, Marot also wove 'Alegiez moi' into the final part of his 'D'un nouveau dard' which is set to music by an anonymous composer in the *Trente chansons musicales à quatre parties* (1529), well within Marot's lifetime.[96] Zink does not discuss the music, but it is worth noting that this setting of 'Alleges moy' strongly resembles one found in Josquin des Prez' (presumably) earlier six-part chanson entitled 'Allegez moy, douce plaisant brunette', published posthumously in 1572.[97] By this time, however, neither Josquin (*d.* 1521) nor Marot (*d.* 1544) were living, and 'Allegez moy' was



Example 2.4: Two versions of 'Allegez moy' from: (a) 'D'un nouveau dard' in *Trente chansons musicales* (1529) and (b) Josquin des Prez' 'Alleges moy' from *Mellange de chansons* (1572)



Example 2.5: 'Allegez moy', superius from *Livre septiesme des chansons vulgaires* (1633)

addressing a new generation of listeners. Example 2.4 contains the 1529 four-voice setting and Josquin's superius of 'Alleges moy' for comparison.

In fact, this refrain's popularity endured at least until the seventeenth century, for we find it again in the *Livre septiesme des chansons vulgaires* from 1633, where it is set to music by an anonymous composer ('D'Incerto'). Example 2.5 contains the superius voice.[98]

These three settings spanning over a century may be seen as different versions of the same tune, which is on G; its opening descending third falls below the tonic and its second phrase, beginning with an upbeat below the


Vous me tu - ez si dou - ce - ment A - vec - que tour - mans tant be - nins,
3
Que ne scay cho - se de dou - ceur Plus dou - ce qu'est ma dou - ce mort
5
S'il faut mou - rir mou - ron d'a - mour.

Example 2.6: 'Vous me tuez', from Jacques Mauduit's *Chansonnettes mesurées de Ian-Antoine de Baïf* (Paris, 1586)

tonic, repeats the same falling-third motion – in short, an infectious tune which would have understandably stuck in anyone's head. It is difficult to find any strong relation between the medieval duplum in example 2.3 and these later settings, though; the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appear to have had their own readings of this refrain. What the peregrinations of 'Alegiez moi' do demonstrate is the durability of this medieval refrain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Nostredame's troubadours and Ariosto's Roland are just a few other examples beyond this of the continuity of certain medieval traditions. In the spirit of myth-making, the different borrowers of this refrain adjusted tradition to contemporary taste.

Such adaptation was the practice of the late sixteenth-century *Académie de poésie et musique*, founded in 1570. The members of the *Académie* felt that the quantitative metres of Greek and Roman poetry could be applied to French songs of their time. They rendered their 'vers mesurés à l'antique'. The reality often fell short of this ideal, for musical accentuation did not always match that of the text.[99] An example of a more successful attempt is found in Jacques Mauduit's setting of a poem by Jean-Antoine de Baïf, 'Vous me tuez', whose talk of amorous ailments and their relief is reminiscent of 'Allegez moy' (see example 2.6).[100]

The *Académie*'s statutes declared that the 'vers mesurez mis en Musique' were to be 'in the manner of the ancients . . . [to] recapture the practice of music according to its perfection' ('à la maniere des Anciens . . . [pour] remettre en usage la Musique selon sa perfection'). This *antiquité* was, like Marot's 'bon vieulx temps', loosely defined and inclusive of the Middle Ages. It was not an attempt to imitate ancient Greek or any other kind of older music, but rather a Renaissance idealization of what antiquity could and should be, a compromise between ideas about ancient music

and the more immediate demands for an improved French song which would compete with Petrarchan composers such as Adrian Willaert and Jacob Arcadelt.[101]

Here as we have seen earlier, this *antiquité* escaped specific time constraints. For one, what was 'ancient' turns out to have been not that old. Ronsard, in a preface to the *Livre de Meslanges contenant six vingtz Chansons* (Le Roy et Ballard, 1560), mentions that certain songs (which he does not identify) contained in that volume were the 'Musique des anciens'. This music is 'more divine' than recent music, for it was composed 'in a happier time, less stained with the vices reigning in this most recent age of iron' ('en un siecle plus heureux, et moins entaché des vices qui regnent en ce dernier age de fer').[102] Yet no composer in the *Livre de Meslanges* goes further back than a century, the oldest being Josquin des Prez and Pierre de la Rue.[103] These 'anciens' or 'autheurs antiques' as the book's title calls them, were in fact nearly contemporaries; clearly for Ronsard, Josquin – and one might add here, Marot – already faded back into that immense and seamless *antiquité françoise*.

Not only were the Middle Ages somewhat indistinct to Renaissance readers, there was also for them a certain equivalency between medieval music and that of the composers of the new 'vers mesurés', as if the two belonged to the same time period. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye would write in his *L'art poétique* that the troubadours and trouvères had revived the Greek and Roman manner in their singing: 'This art, resurrected from the Greeks and Romans, was first revealed to the French'. Only a few lines later, La Fresnaye arrives at his sixteenth-century contemporaries Ronsard, Baïf and Du Bellay; they are the direct inheritors of troubadour and trouvère song.[104] For the sixteenth-century academicians and their contemporaries, the *antiquité françoise* was a historical paradox of remoteness and proximity. For those reading the different settings of 'Allegez moy' discussed earlier, then, the age of any one given musical version probably mattered very little. Its tenuous and vague connection to either the Middle Ages or the recent past guaranteed its musical *antiquité*.

To summarize, by 1700, the various forces described throughout this chapter had fixed a stereotype of medieval music which conformed to a broader construct of the Middle Ages. Music of the *antiquité françoise* was rustic, naïve, simple and 'mesurée à l'antique'; it lay in a remote and often legendary past, yet traces of it could still be heard in such songs of the people as the *villanelles* in Gascogne, as Montaigne put it; it was primitive and sometimes even martial in character, given the association of jousting knights and warring heroes with the Middle Ages. All these features are

found in my final example, a song which would still be ringing in French ears in the Enlightenment: Lully's 'Roland, courez aux armes' from his *Roland* (1685).[105] In his earlier *tragédies lyriques*, Lully had drawn on Greek antiquity in particular. But, in the last years of his life, he turned to medieval topics, demonstrating once again the association between Greek and French antiquities during this period. The *antiquité françoise* was grafted on to that more prestigious antiquity in the fashioning of an ideal past under the supervision of the mighty Sun King. Lully's *Amadis* (1684), *Roland* (1685) and *Armide* (1686) all dealt with military heroes whose accomplishments underscored the political and military glory of Louis XIV. Indeed, the king himself had chosen the subject for each one of these *tragédies en musique*. They played the same role as the acadamies founded in Louis' reign: to glorify the nation of France by recalling its historical prestige. A century earlier, François I and Henry II had used the Middle Ages for similar ends.[106]

Lully's *Roland* is loosely based on the historical character described earlier. The Song of Roland, watered down from its medieval literary heritage through Ariosto and corresponding a little to all but exactly to none of these versions, becomes here a song sung to Roland, rather than Roland's own tune. The moral of Lully's *Roland*, as explained in the prologue, is the undue influence of love on glory. Roland's love for Angélique distracts him from tending to his kingdom. His madness climaxes in the fourth act when, upon discovering that Angélique loves another, he loses control in an outbreak of fury. The resolution comes when the good fairy Logistille puts him to sleep in the final act. She conjures up the ghosts of dead heroes for Roland's inspiration and breaks into the song in example 2.7.[107]

On the one hand, Lully was drawing on the long tradition detailed above of a Song of Roland. On the other, his 'Roland, courez' played the same role as the *pastourelle* 'L'autrier quant je chevauchois' or the refrain 'Allegez moy' discussed earlier. Lully had no intention here of rendering medieval music authentically. Rather, he used topoi associated with the French antiquity and adapted them to suit his own needs. The contemporary imagination eagerly supplied what considerable information was missing about the Middle Ages and fashioned the past largely in its own image. It freely created a 'bon vieulx temps', to borrow Marot's phrase once again, a past by which to measure and improve the musical present. The rapid triple metre of Lully's 'Roland', fuelled by the running bass and a melisma on 'courez', propelled Roland to action. Lully did not look for medieval settings of Roland's song, nor did he wish to.[108] The 'Song of Roland' is here evoked entirely in Baroque terms, in a manner which would conjure up for Lully's


Ro land, cou-rez aux ar-mes, aux ar - mes, cou
7
rez aux ar-mes. Que la Gloire a de char-mes. Que la Gloire a de char -
13
mes. L'A - mour de ses div-ins ap-pas Fait vivre au de - la du tre
19
pas. L'A - mour de ses di-vins ap - pas Fait vivre au de - la du tre-pas.

Example 2.7: Jean-Baptiste Lully, 'Roland, courez' from *Roland* (1685)

audience a generic remote antiquity in which the Roland of literary fame could freely battle. Lully's musical touches are, in fact, somewhat generic, that is, typical of our composer: the same running triple metre preceded by an upbeat characterizes other music by Lully for similar circumstances such as Urgande's 'Suivez ce Héros' from *Amadis*.[109] Rescuing Roland's song from the fogs of time, Lully presents it to his listeners in the living colours of a musical 'style marotique' which conveys a suitably regal grandeur. The musical features we find here and which are identified with the Middle Ages will recur in settings of medieval material from the Enlightenment on: a chipper melody in triple metre, straightforward in its tonality, uncomplicated by complex counterpoint or shifting metres, and with a minimum of embellishments and turns – perfectly suited, in other words, to its antique setting.

NOTES

1. 'When vernacular poetry was first written and who were its authors.' From Pietro Bembo, *Le Prose*, rev. edn (Venice: Nicolo Moretti, 1586), fol. 9v; the original edition was published in 1525. See Carlo Dionisotti's edition: Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua* (Milan: TEA, 1989), 85–92.
2. For example: Charles-Henri-Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera* (1864; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), vol. 1, v; Jacques Chailley, *40,000 Years of Music: Man in Search of Music*, trans. Rollo Myers (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1964), chapter 5; and Théodore Gérold, 'Le réveil en France, au XVIIIe siècle, de l'intérêt pour la musique profane du moyen âge', in *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de La Laurencie* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1933), 223–34.
3. The expression *media antiquitas* (middle antiquity) was used alternately with *medium aevum*. See Nathan Edelman, *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France Towards the Middle Ages* (Morningside Heights, NY: King's Crown Press, 1946), 295; Jürgen Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972), 73, 134–5 and 369–71; and Fred Robinson, '*Medieval*, the *Middle Ages*', in Fred Robinson, *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993), 304–15.
4. Clément Marot, *Œuvres poétiques complètes*, ed. Gérard Defaux (Paris: Bordas, 1990), vol. 1, 173–4 and 566.
5. They are listed in Guillaume de Lorris, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Silvio F. Baridon (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1954), vol. 1, 85–6; see also pp. 42–80. The *Roman de la Rose* remained the most cited medieval literary work during the period under consideration: between 1481 and 1538, it was edited some twenty times (Lorris, *Roman*, 11; Edelman, *Attitudes*, 361–94).
6. Jean de La Fontaine, *The Fables*, trans. Elizur Wright (London: Jupiter Books, 1975), 35. On La Fontaine's vocabulary, see Edelman, *Attitudes*, 292–3. Already by the seventeenth century, 'compère' and 'commère' had the restricted sense connected with infant baptism (Antoine Furetière, *Le dictionnaire universel*, ed. Pierre Bayle [1690; repr. Paris: S.N.L., 1978], vol. 1, no pagination).
7. See Edelman, *Attitudes*, 40–3 and 292–303; citations pp. 292–4.
8. This well-known passage comes from Montaigne's *Essais*, book 1 chapter 54, 'Des vaines subtilitez' (Montaigne, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Albert Thibaudet and Maurice Rat [Paris: Gallimard, 1962], 300): 'La poësie populaire et purement naturelle a des naïvetez et graces par où elle se compare à la principale beauté de poésie parfaicte selon l'art; comme il se voi dès villanelles de Gascongne et aux chansons qu'on nous rapporte des nations qui n'ont congnoissance d'aucune science ny mesme d'escriture.' It is also cited in François Lesure, *Musique et musiciens français du XVIe siècle* (1950–69; Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 27, and Michel Zink, *Le Moyen Age et ses chansons ou, Un passé en trompe-l'œil* (Paris: Fallois, 1996), 66 (translated into English by Jane Marie Todd as *The Enchantment of the Middle Ages* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998]). On Renaissance popular song in general, see Lesure, 25–34.

9. Jehan de Nostredame, *Les vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux, qui ont fleuri du temps des comtes de Provence* (1575; repr. New York: Georg Olms, 1971).
10. Honoré Bouche, *La Chorographie ou description de Provence et l'histoire chronologique du mesme pays* (Aix-en-Provence: Charles David, 1664), and Guillaume Catel, *Memoires de l'histoire du Languedoc, curieusement et fidelement recueillis de divers Autheurs Grecs, Latins, François & Espagnols; & de plusieurs Titres & Chartes tirés des Archifs des villes & Communautez de la mesme Province, & autres circonvoisines* (Toulouse: Arnaud Colomiez, 1633) and *Histoire des contes de Toulouse, Origines des Jeux Floraux* (Toulouse: Pierre Bosc, 1623).
11. Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie françoise, ryme et romans; plus les noms et sommaire des œuvres de CXXVII poetes François, vivans avant l'an M.CCC.* (1581; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972).
12. He writes: '[ces poetes] que maintenant je rameine et tire quasi de la prison d'oubli, où l'ignorance les tenoit pesle-mese enfermez' (Fauchet, *Recueil*, ii).
13. François Grudé, Sieur de La Croix du Maine, *La Bibliothèque Françoise* (Paris: A. l'Angellier, 1584); Antoine Duverdier, *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine Duverdier, contenant le catalogue de tous les auteurs qui ont écrit ou traduit en français, avec le supplément latin, du même Duverdier, à la bibliothèque de Gessner* (Lyon: B. Honorat, 1585). These were later revised and published together by Rigoley de Juvigny as *Les Bibliothèques françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier* (Paris: Michel Lambert, 1772).
14. See Edelman, *Attitudes*, 307, and Colette Demaizière, 'Etienne Pasquier, lecteur de Thibaut de Champagne', in *Thibaut de Champagne: Prince et poète au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Yvonne Bellenger and Danielle Quéruel (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1987), 119–27.
15. Nostredame, *Vies*, 9 and 14.
16. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 160 and 74.
17. Nostredame, *Vies*, 19.
18. Nostredame, *Vies*, 211–12 and 248–53. See Joseph Anglade's preface to Jehan de Nostredame, *Les vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux*, ed. Camille Chabaneau (1913; repr. Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 1970), (92)–(93) and (100)–(101).
19. Joseph Anglade in Chabaneau's edition of Nostredame's *Vies*, (82); Edelman, *Attitudes*, 343.
20. In the thirteenth chapter of the first book of the *Recherches de la France*, Pasquier writes: 'Quant à moy, ie ne fais aucun doute que le pays de Languedoc n'ait dit par une transposition & alteration de parole quasi Langue de Got' (Etienne Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, rev. ed. [Paris: Louys Billaine, 1665], 34).
21. Catel wrote that the expression *Gothie*, or *pays des Goths*, was changed to *Languedoc* in the thirteenth century (Catel, *Memoire*, 37–42).
22. Edelman, *Attitudes*, 338–42.
23. Gretchen Peters, 'Urban Minstrels in Late Medieval Opportunities, Status and Professional Relationships', *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 201–35.

24. Alessandro Vellutello, *Il Petrarca con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello: e con piu utisi cose in diversi luoghi de quella novissimamente da lui aggiunte* (Venice: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1538); Nostredame, *Vies*, 14; see also Santorre Debenedetti, *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel cinquecento e tre secoli di studi provenzali*, rev. edn Cesare Segre (Padua: Antenore, 1995), 210–11. Already in the late seventeenth century, *trombe* or *trompe* was an old-fashioned word (Furetière, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 3, no pagination). See note 68 for a possible explanation of Vellutello's etymology.
25. Bouche, *Chorographie*, vol. 1, unpaginated *advertissement*, 84 and 94. The distinction is made on page 84 only. This passage is cited by Edelman, *Attitudes*, 343 (given wrongly as Bouche 83), who misunderstood Bouche to say that *troubadour* and *troumbadour* were one and the same person. See the entry 'Troubadours ou Trombadours', in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres* (Berne and Lausanne: Sociétés Typographiques, 1781), vol. 34, 625–7.
26. Claude François Menestrier, *Traite des tournois, joustes, carrousels, et autres spectacles publics* (Lyon: Jacques Muguet, 1669), 40: 'Une foule de Troubadours venoit au septiéme rang tous couronnez de plumes de Paon, qui leur furent autrefois consacrées dans les fameux Cercles des principales Dames de cette Province là, & vestus à l'antique, avec de longues perruques, chantans dans les transports de leur zele sur des Luths, & des Harpes dorées'.
27. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, vol. 1, 243, note 8: 'Les yeux représentés sur le plumage du paon, & dont il paroît environné, lorsqu'il fait la roue, exprimoient les regards de tout le monde fixés sur les Troubadours pour écouter leurs compositions'. No reference to peacock feathers survives in troubadour poetry, although several are depicted in the Minnesinger Manessische Handschrift (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. germ. 848); my thanks to William Paden and F. R. P. Akehurst for their assistance on this point.
28. Geneviève's story was popularized by René de Ceriziers' *L'innocence reconnue, ou Histoire de Geneviève de Brabant* (Lille: Martin-Muiron, [1645]).
29. Lise Andries, *La Bibliothèque bleue au dix-huitième siècle: une tradition éditoriale*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 270 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1989), 148–9.
30. Charles Perrault's more famous *Histoires, ou, Contes du temps passé: avec des moralitez* (La Haye: Moetjens, 1697) was in fact inspired by these precursors. See Mary Elizabeth Storer, *Un épisode littéraire de la fin du XVIIe siècle: La mode des contes de fées (1685–1700)* (1928; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), especially 27, 36–7 and 42–5; Robert Raymonde, *Le conte de fées littéraire en France de la fin du 17e à la fin du 18e siècle* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1981); Renate Baader, *'Dames de Lettres': Autorinnen des preziösen, hocharistokratischen und 'modernen' Salons (1649–1698): Mlle de Scudéry – Mlle de Montpensier – Mme d'Aulnoy* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1986), 226–77; Anne Defrance, *Les contes de fées et les nouvelles de Madame d'Aulnoy, 1690–1698: l'imaginaire féminin à rebours de la tradition* (Geneva: Droz, 1998).

31. See articles by Jindrich Zezula ('Scholarly Medievalism in Renaissance France') and Kimberlee Anne Campbell ('The Renaissance Reader and Popular Medievalism') in *Studies in Medievalism* 3 (1987), 23–31 and 11–20, respectively.
32. Nostredame, *Vies*, 57.
33. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 126.
34. Aimé Petit and François Suard, eds., *Le livre des amours du Chastellain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1994).
35. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 92–3; see Le Page, 'Blondel de Nesle', 115, and Broughton, *Legends of King Richard*, 126–8.
36. Cited in chapter 1, p. 47, note 78.
37. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 118–19: 'Et s'en voit encores quelque reste peint au chasteau de Provins, à l'endroit de la prison'. Etienne Pasquier unquestioningly repeats this (Pasquier, *Recherches*, 601). Fauchet may have been thinking of Lancelot who, out of love for Guinevere, painted his deeds on his prison walls (Jean Frappier, ed., *La mort le Roi Artu, roman du XIIIe siècle* [Geneva: Droz, 1954], 61); my thanks to Alice Cooley for bringing this to my attention.
38. On the reception of *Amadis*, see Edouard-Eugène-Joseph Bourciez, *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri III* (1886; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), 60–100.
39. Yves Guiraud and Hughes Vaganay, eds., *Le premier livre d'Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Nizet, 1986), vol. 1, 4. See Marian Rothstein, *Reading in the Renaissance*: Amadis de Gaule *and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1999).
40. Pasquier, *Recherches*, 609: 'Vous pouvez cueillir toutes les belles fleurs de nostre langue Françoise'.
41. This title was assigned by Francisque Michel in the years leading up to his 1837 edition (Paul Aebischer, *Rolandiana et Oliveriana: Recueil d'études sur les chansons de geste* [Geneva: Droz, 1967], 177–90). See Andrew Taylor's 'Was There a Song of Roland?' *Speculum* 76 (2001), 28–65.
42. Ian Short, ed., *La chanson de Roland: édition critique et traduction* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), 178–80.
43. Paul G. Schmidt, *Karolellus, atque Pseudo-Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1996).
44. Ronald Walpole, ed., *Le Turpin français, dit le Turpin I* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
45. Brian Woledge, *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500* (Geneva: Droz, 1954), 100–03.
46. R. A. B. Mynors, ed. and trans., *William of Malmesbury: Gesta regum anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, completed by R. M. Thomson and W. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), vol. 1, 454–5: 'Tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata, ut martium viri exemplum pugnaturos accenderet, inclamatoque Dei auxilio prelium consertum bellatumque acriter, neutris in multam diei horam cedentibus'; my translation differs slightly. See other references in Taylor, 'Was There', 28, note 3.

47. A. J. Holden, ed., *Le Roman de Rou de Wace* (Paris: Picard, 1971), vol. 2, 183 (lines 8013–8018): 'Taillefer, qui mult bien chantout / sor un cheval qui tost alout / devant le duc alout chantant / de Karlemaigne e de Rollant / e d'Oliver e des vassals / qui morurent en Rencevals.' On the inspiration of William's *Gesta*, see vol. 3, 109–10 and 157.
48. Matthew writes: 'Tunc Rollandi cantu inchoato, ut animos bellatorum accenderet, Deique auxilio inclamato, prælium commiserunt' ['Then, as he [duke William] began the song of Roland so as to excite the warriors' souls, and called upon God's help, they all threw themselves into battle'] (Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series 57 [London: Longman, 1872], vol. 1, 541).
49. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 70; see also Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 45.
50. See C. P. Brand, 'Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533)', in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. T. H. Jackson, vol. 2: *Petrarch to Renaissance Short Fiction* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 625, and Barbara Reynolds, ed. and trans., *Orlando Furioso (The Frenzy of Orlando): A Romantic Epic by Ludovico Ariosto, Part One* (New York: Penguin, 1975), 53–60.
51. M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 79.
52. See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Collier, 1967), chapter 4. On what follows, see especially Pierre Villey's older but excellent study, *Les sources italiennes de la 'Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise' de Joachim Du Bellay* (Paris: Champion, 1908).
53. See Marius Piéri, *Le pétrarquisme au XVIe siècle: Pétrarque et Ronsard, ou De l'influence de Pétrarque sur la Pléiade française* (1895; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 1–40.
54. On Catherine's influence, see especially Bourciez, *Mœurs polies*, 267–99.
55. Piéri, *Le pétrarquisme*, 52–69. In *Les sources italiennes*, Pierre Villey argues that Du Bellay's *Deffense* was strongly influenced not only by Bembo's *Prose*, but also and especially by Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle Lingue* (1542).
56. Thomas Sibilet, *Art poetique françoys* (1555; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), 69–70: 'doit estre venerée de nous comme nostre mere & maistresse'.
57. See Valerie Worth-Stylianou, '*Translatio* and Translation in the Renaissance: From Italy to France', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 3, *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 127–35.
58. See note 1; Pietro Bembo, *Le Prose*, rev. edn (Venice: Nicolo Moretti, 1586), fol. 9v; the original edition was published in 1525. See Carlo Dionisotti's edition: Pietro Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua* (Milan: TEA, 1989), 85–92.
59. Although the *scuola siciliana* flourished under Frederick II (1194–1250), its beginnings more than likely went back a few decades (Joseph Palermo, 'La poésie provençale à la cour de Frédéric II de Sicile', *Revue des langues romanes* 79 [1969], 71–82). On Bembo and Petrarch, see Alessandra Martina, 'La canonizzazione della lingua petrarchesca nelle *Prose della volgar lingua* di Pietro Bembo', *Lingua e stile* 33 (1998), 217–30.

60. Bembo, *Prose*, 90–1. On Bembo's knowledge of the troubadours, see Debenedetti, *Studi provenzali*, 247–50. For a later example of this appropriation of the troubadours, see Lodovico Antonio Muratori's *Dell' origine della lingua italiana: Dissertazione XXXII sopra le antichità italiane*, ed. Claudio Marazzini (Alexandria: Orso, 1988), 81. On Folquet de Marselha's family origins, see Patrice Cabau, 'Foulque, marchand et troubadour de Marseille, moine et abbé du Thoronet, évêque de Toulouse', in *Les cisterciens en Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 21 (Toulouse: Privat, 1986), 151–79.
61. Pasquier, *Recherches*, 602; Richelet's *La versification françoise* (Paris: Estienne Loyson, 1672) is cited in Edelman, *Attitudes*, 345.
62. Crescimbeni, *Istoria della volgar poesia* (Rome: Antonio de Rossi, 1698). The *Commentari* on the *Istoria* were published in 1702 (vol. 1), 1710 (vol. 2, which contained Nostredame's *Vies*) and 1711 (vols. 3–5). Crescimbeni's work was best known in the eighteenth century through its third edition which interwove the *Istoria* with the *Commentari* in three volumes: volume 1, *L'Istoria della volgar poesia* (Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1730), and volumes 2 and 3, *Comentari del canonico Gio. Mario Crescimbeni custode d'Arcadia, intorno alla sua Istoria della volgar Poesia* (Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1730). The confusing publishing history is explained in the preface to volume 1 of the 1730 edition.
63. See Florence Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), chapter 12 and Edelman, *Attitudes*, chapter 2.
64. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du Languedoc*, 4th edn (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982).
65. John C. Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance: The Floral Games; University and Student Life; Etienne Dolet (1532–1534)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), 3, note 7, and 28 (see, however, note 43).
66. Gélis, *Histoire*, 108–24.
67. Axel Duboul, *Les deux siècles de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux* (Toulouse: Privat, 1901), vol. 2, 448–51 and 544–6. A list of some seventeenth-century winners writing in Occitan survives in Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, manuscript 1005.
68. Gélis, *Histoire*, especially 75 and 91. The trumpet especially is discussed in Luc Charles-Dominique and Patrick Lasseube's *Huit cent ans de musique populaire à Toulouse* (Toulouse: Conservatoire Occitan de Toulouse, 1984), 33–6, 67–8, 76. The documented use of trumpets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Toulouse floral games and other official functions partly explains Honoré Bouche's etymology mentioned in note 24 above. A 1779 cantata by a certain Dupuy, the music director for the Saint-Sernin church, is cited in Duboul's *Deux siècles*, vol. 1, 4 and 713.
69. Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music, 1600–1960* (New York: Dover, 1962), chapter 2.
70. Debenedetti, *Studi provenzali*.
71. On L, see Aubrey, 'Sources', 853.
72. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 116 and 119: 'le plus entier & curieusement recueilli d'entre celles des meilleurs maistres, que j'aye veu pour ce regard'.

73. Etienne Pasquier, *Les œuvres d'Estienne Pasquier* (Amsterdam: Compagnie des libraires associez, 1723), vol. 2, col. 42. Pasquier makes this same remark in the seventh book of his *Recherches*, 601.
74. La Croix du Maine and Antoine Du Verdier, *Les bibliothèques françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas*, rev. edn (Paris: Michel Lambert, 1772–3), vol. 5, 525–30; these two separate catalogues were originally published in 1584–5.
75. The Milan source is described and the melody reproduced in Antonio Restori's 'Per la storia musicale dei Trovatori provenzali: Appunti et note', *Rivista musicale italiana* 2 (1895), 3; also found in Johann-Baptist Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours* (Straßbourg: Trübner, 1908), 26. Restori dates the manuscript from the sixteenth century ('Cinquecento'), not the fifteenth, as Hendrik van der Werf has written in his *Extant Troubadour Melodies*, *93.
76. Debenedetti discusses a table of troubadour chansonnier BnF ffr 12473 (without music), once in the Vatican, which is found on fols. 286–302 of this same manuscript (Debenedetti, *Studi provenzali*, 97). Tess Knighton has presented an even earlier instance of a troubadour song being cited, although the melody was not written down; space for music is provided in a fifteenth-century Spanish quotation of Richart de Berbezilh's 'Atressi com l'olifants' (Knighton, 'New Light on Musical Aspects of the Troubadour Revival in Spain', *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 [1993], 75–85).
77. On these books and others mentioned in this paragraph, see Aubrey, 'Sources'.
78. Haines, 'Transformations', 32.
79. J. Bignami Odier, 'Le fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque Vaticane', in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), vol. 1, 159–89.
80. Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies', 29–33. Rémy, whom Aubrey calls the 'shadowy scribe', is variously named by other writers as 'palaeographer', 'secretary', 'valet de chambre', and 'archivist'; references cited in Aubrey. Rémy was one of several of Gaignières' assistants as well as that of the artist L. Boudan (Delisle, *Le cabinet*, vol. 1, 334).
81. Baudelot de Dairval, *De l'utilité des voyages, et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquez procure aux sçavans* (Paris: Pierre Auboüin and Pierre Emery, 1680), vol. 2, 674–92, where Dairval gives an impressive roster of late seventeenth-century antiquarians throughout Europe. However, he had apparently not travelled outside of France ('Eloge de M. Baudelot', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 5 [1729], 404). On Dairval, see also A. Beuchot, 'Baudelot de Dairval (Charles-César)', in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. J.-Fr. Michaud (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1966), vol. 3, 276, and 'Ch. César Baudelot', in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres* (Paris: Briasson, 1730), vol. 12, 272–84.
82. See Roman d'Amat, 'Gaignières (François-Roger de)', in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. M. Prevost *et al.* (Paris: Letouzey, 1980), fascicle 85, cols. 62–3, and Charles de Grandmaison, *Gaignières et ses correspondants et ses collections*

de portraits (Niort: A. Clouzot, 1892), especially 21–5 and 51. It is possible that Dairval lent Gaignières his chansonnier since it was Gaignières' practice to borrow as well as lend books (Grandmaison, 60). Elizabeth Aubrey places Rémy's copying after 1715 based on the reference to Clairambault as owner of chansonnier X (Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies', 32–3). However, as I argue in chapter 3, this and other references were later additions by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye and were most likely not part of the original from which BnF ffr 12610 was copied.

83. This is BnF f. Clairambault, manuscript 1032 (*olim* 432). It is briefly described in Phillippe Lauer, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Collection Clairambault* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1924), vol. 2, 153; cited in Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies', 30, note 16.
84. 'Son valet de chambre infidelle qui le laissoit mourir de faim et pourir dans l'ordure pendant qu'il accommodoit ses propres affaires au depens de son Maistre' (from a letter dated 23 February 1715 in BnF f. Clairambault 1032, 61–62); 'et ses Manuscrits soient a la disposition d'un valet qui en peut abuser' (from a letter dated 22 February 1715 in the same manuscript, 55).
85. The report is in two parts dated February and March–April 1715 (BnF f. Clairambault 1032, 65–146 and 167–216). It is here that Rémy's wife Marie Le Clere is named.
86. For example, BnF ffr 12614 uses a sun clock design dated to the 1660s and a paper-maker's monogram dated to the 1680s (Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* [Paris: CNRS, 1995], plate 38, number 273 and plate 145, number 4136). Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303 uses an 'écu au trois o' associated with papermaker A. Delotz, dated from the 1710s (Gaudriault, *Filigranes*, 158–9 and 198).
87. See Nostredame, *Vies*, 114 and 122, for example.
88. Nostredame, *Vies*, 14.
89. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 73: 'Quand les tables ostees furent / cil Iugleur en piés esturent / s'ont vielles & harpes prises / chansons, sons, lais, vers & reprises / et de geste chanté nos ont / li escuyer Antechrist font / le rebarder par grand deduit'. Compare Fauchet's citation with Stéphanie Orgeur's edition and translation of this passage in Huon de Méry, *Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist (Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit)*, 2nd edn, ed. Stéphanie Orgeur and Georg Wimmer (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 53.
90. Compare with Auguste Gevaert and Gaston Paris, *Chansons du XVe siècle publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875), number 29.
91. See Ardis Butterfield, 'Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991), 1–23.
92. The different versions of the medieval refrain are given in van den Boogaard's *Rondeaux et refrains*, 100.
93. Edited and translated in Paden, *Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 256. This song survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, manuscript Douce 308, number 32 in the 'pastourelles' category (IV).

94. Edited in Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), vol. 1, 560–1.
95. Marot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Defaux, vol. 2, 315–16; cited in Zink, *Le Moyen Age*, 36.
96. Zink cites Claude Albert Mayer's edition of Clément Marot's *Œuvres lyriques* (London: Athlone, 1964), 190 (Zink, *Le Moyen Age*, 203). The musical setting is, to my knowledge, as yet unedited. My edition given here is based on the part scores found in Paris, BnF Section Musique, Rés. Vm7 172: *Trente chansons musicales à quatre parties* (Paris: Attaignant, 1529).
97. Josquin's chanson is edited in Charles Jacob's *Le Roy & Ballard's 1572 Mellange de chansons* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), 452–4.
98. *Livre septiesme des chansons vulgaires de divers autheurs a quatre parties, convenables et utiles a la jeunesse, toutes mises en ordre selon leurs tons, avec une briesve et facile instruction pour bien apprendre la Musicque: Superius* (Douay: Pierre Bogart, 1633), 26; my thanks to the Music Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for their assistance. This book is cited in Mayer's edition of Marot's *Œuvres lyriques*, 190, note 1, and in Zink, *Le Moyen Age*, 75–6. It was first published in 1613, with the second edition in 1633 (not 1638, as Zink writes). See François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimés XVIe –XVIIe siècles*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales part B, vol. 1, part 1 (Munich: G. Henle, 1960), 442 and 505.
99. See D. P. Walker and François Lesure, 'Claude Le Jeune and *Musique mesurée*', *Musica disciplina* 3 (1949), 165; Daniel Heartz, '*Voix de ville*: Between Humanist Ideals and Musical Realities', in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt by Sundry Hands*, ed. Laurence Berman (Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), 115–35; and Howard Mayer Brown, '*Ut musica poesis*: Music and Poetry in France in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Early Music History* 13 (1994), 1–63.
100. Henry Expert, ed., *Jacques Mauduit: Chansonnettes mesurées de Ian-Antoine de Baïf*, Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française 10 (New York: Broude, n.d.), 2–4; cited in Yates, *French Academies*, 54.
101. Dean Mace, 'Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal', *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969), 65–86.
102. The full title is *Livre de Meslanges contenant six vingtz chansons des plus rares et plus industrieuses qui se trouvent, soit des autheurs antiques, soit des plus memorables de nostre temps* (Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1560). See Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Gustave Cohen (Paris: Gallimard, 1950), vol. 2, 978–81, citation from 980. Ronsard's famous dedication is translated by Oliver Strunk in his *Source Readings*, part III: *The Renaissance*, ed. Gary Tomlinson, 300–303.
103. Composers listed in François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551–1598)* (Paris: Heugel, 1955), 92–4.

104. Georges Pellissier, ed., *L'art poétique de Vauquelin de La Fresnaye* (Paris: Garnier, 1885), 33–5: 'Des Grecs et des Romains cet art renouvelé, aux François les premiers fut revelé'. Cf. Yates, *French Academies*, 44. Vauquelin completed the *Art Poétique* in the 1570s although it was not published until 1605.
105. On the revival of Lully's operas in the eighteenth century, see William Weber, '*La musique ancienne* in the Waning of the Ancien Régime', *The Journal of Modern History* 56 (1984), 58–88.
106. See Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Paris: Marc Vokar, 1992), 349–52.
107. Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide*, 2nd edn (Paris: n.p., 1710), 311–12.
108. Couvreur, *Lully*, 303.
109. Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Amadis*, volume 3 of Henry Prunières' *Œuvres complètes de Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Editions Lully, 1934), 218 (Act V, scene 4).

CHAPTER 3

Enlightened readers

> Qual poi fusse il canto che usavano i mentovati, a noi non s'appartiene investigarlo: contuttociò perchè maggiormente rimanga paga la curiosità de' lettori, diremo che egli per nostro avviso dovette esser molto semplice, per non dir grossolano . . .
>
> Mario G. Crescimbeni, *Commentari . . . all' Istoria della poesia italiana*[1]

> La Musique étoit le beau & le véritable Plain-Chant, que l'on nomme Gregorien: les notes en étoient quarrées . . . sans mesure marquée.
>
> Levesque de La Ravallière, *Les Poësies du Roy de Navarre*[2]

Readers paging through the second volume of English music scholar Dr Charles Burney's imposing *General History of Music* (1782) were probably surprised to find a troubadour melody reproduced in its original notation (figure 3.1). Burney had found it – and of this he was rightly proud – buried in the bowels of the Vatican. The tune was a famous one, Gaucelm Faidit's lament on the death of Richard I the Lionhearted, king of England, and was thus of historical interest to its English readers. Its original format, with the plain 'square notes' sitting lifeless on their medieval staff, might appeal to a strictly antiquarian reader. For his intended broader public however, Burney chose to provide a second version which might better make this strange medieval music leap to life. 'As the original may be difficult to some of my readers in its antique guise', the author explained, 'I hope the rest will excuse my attempting a translation of it'.[3] And so, immediately following his facsimile edition of Gaucelm's lament, he published what he deemed an appropriate translation; the troubadour melody now trotted in quadruple metre over an improvised bass line which suggested the music's latent harmonies, its text lamenting in English rather than Occitan. Although we may be condescendingly amused at this fanciful representation of medieval music, Burney's Enlightenment reader had more than likely encountered such an interpretation before and would have regarded it with approval. In the late eighteenth century, this was a perfectly acceptable method of translating medieval music, a method with its own history and standards.


Fo't chauſa es qe tot lo maior dan, el maior dol, las! q eu onc
mais a gues, Et zo, don Dei toz iors plaigner plo—ran, ma—ven a
dir en-chantar et retraire, et cel q era de valur chief et paire.
Li reis valenz Ri—zard, reis des Engles, Es morz; ai deus! cals
perte et cals danz es! Can eſtraing moz et qan greu per au—dir! Ben
a dur cor toz hom qi po ſofrir. Ben a dur cor toz hom qi po ſofrir*.
Now fate has fill'd the mea–ſure of my woes, And rent my heart with
grief unfelt be—fore; No future bleſſings wounds like theſe can cloſe, Or

* *Ex Bibl. Vat.* Nº 1659. Fol. 89. Col. 4.

Figure 3.1: Transcription and edition of Gaucelm Faidit's *planh* from troubadour chansonnier *η* in Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1782), vol. 2, 242–3


mi——ti-gate the loſs I now de——plore. The valiant Richard, England's
mighty king, The fire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of ty-rant Death has felt the fa———tal ſting: A thouſand
years his equal may not bring, The world from meanneſs and con-
——tempt to ſave, The world from mean—neſs and con——
——tempt to ſave.
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Figure 3.1 (*cont.*)

Leading up to Burney's time, the Enlightenment produced an explosion of interest in Old French literature thanks in great part to an increased study of medieval sources. During the eighteenth century, the study of trouvère song moved from the periphery of antiquarian interest to its mainstream. It became a full-scale enterprise, complete with an established canon of composers, index of primary sources, and printed editions based on these sources. Yet even this extensive movement was not enough to quench the increasing curiosity for things medieval. A clearer reading of trouvère song would require knowledge about the specific sonorities and rhythm of medieval music, matters on which the original chansonniers were mostly silent. Eighteenth-century writers filled in these blanks by building on the existing tradition of remembered medieval music described in the last chapter. This fleshing out of trouvère song was primarily a work of imagination rather than of scholarship, one which nevertheless depended on the discovery and study of medieval manuscripts. The peaceful co-existence of two very different approaches displayed in Burney's two readings of Gaucelm's lament, a scholarly approach on the one hand and a creative on the other, is the Enlightenment's most significant contribution to medieval vernacular song.[4]

Antiquarians began unprecedented detailed research of Old French manuscripts during the 1700s. What had distinguished late seventeenth-century antiquarianism from earlier historical movements was its emphasis on non-literary evidence such as coins, monuments and generally any other neglected evidence. For the little-studied Middle Ages, this meant almost everything, including the literary evidence, medieval manuscripts.[5] Taking their cue from Fauchet and Nostredame, a steadily growing number of French Enlightenment antiquarians – whose most prominent member was Sainte-Palaye cited below – hunched over medieval books and carefully read the literature they found there. Many of these scholars were members of the newly renamed *Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.[6] In their search for a French antiquity, these academicians discovered the vast field of late medieval literature on which they regularly reported in meetings and journals. Following a debate in the *Mercure de France* periodical with clergyman Robert-Martin Le Pelletier over whether Thibaut de Champagne ever loved Blanche de Castille, literary scholar Pierre-Alexandre Levesque de la Ravallière published his *Les Poësies du Roy de Navarre* in 1742. Ravallière's *Les Poësies* included a thorough refutation of the Blanche de Castille story as well as an edition of Thibaut's sixty-six poems based on a collation of eight manuscripts.[7] From 1743 on, nobleman Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye reported to the *Académie* his findings on 'romans de chevalerie'; Sainte-Palaye argued that the reading of such

medieval stories as Lancelot and Tristan was useful for the historical facts embedded in them. Sainte-Palaye would soon go on to become the leading expert on medieval literature of his day and the mentor of several other younger medievalists.[8] Sometime in the 1730s, clergyman and historian Jean (L'Abbé) Lebeuf stumbled across a two-volume compendium with music of works by a little-known poet named Guillaume de Machaut, whose contents he itemized to the *Académie* in December of 1746. Lebeuf's 'collection of poems' – which included, he was careful to state, different types of musical pieces in red and black notation – was none other than the now famous Machaut manuscripts F–G (BnF ffr 22545–6). His observations were followed the next month by more detailed presentations by military careerist turned scholar Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus, who called Machaut a 'trouvère', thus lumping him with the 'anciens Poëtes' of the preceding century.[9] Earlier that same year, Caylus had regaled his academic auditors with excerpts of thirteenth-century *fabliaux* freshly culled from a manuscript then housed in the Bibliothèque de Saint-Germain-des-Près. The *fabliaux* were of interest to him both as the barbaric precursors of later medieval romances and as the continuators of ancient, orally transmitted songs from Rome, Greece, India and even the Middle East.[10] Alongside these men's efforts appeared the first twelve volumes of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (1733–63), which, from the eleventh volume on (1759), included some troubadours such as Guilhem de Poitiers, giving his biography and a brief description of his songs.[11] By the second half of the eighteenth century medieval French literature had been identified as a legitimate scholarly concern, and the term 'moyen âge' became increasingly frequent.[12]

In the antiquarian discovery of medieval texts, one question returned with disturbing frequency: What was the best way to present these to readers unacquainted with Old French? One of the earliest published collections of Old French literature for a general readership was historian and literary scholar Etienne Barbazan's *Fabliaux et contes françois des XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1756). Barbazan simply copied the *fabliaux* with very few changes, as in the opening to 'La borgoise d'Orliens':

BnF ffr 837, fol. 163r	**Barbazan, *Fabliaux*** (1756)
Or vous dirai dune borgoise	Or vous dirai d'une borgoise
Une aventure assez cortoise	Une aventure assez cortoise,
Nee & norrie fu dorliens	Née & norrie fu d'Orliens,
& ses sires fu nez damiens	Et ses sires fu nez d'Amiens . . .[13]

[I will tell you a very courtly tale about a *bourgeoise*. She was born and bred in Orléans and her husband was born in Amiens.]

Although Barbazan has added some punctuation, on the whole, he has not imposed on the medieval text any emendations except for the occasional apostrophe and accent; the editor has pushed this fidelity to the manuscript so far as to imitate his source's use of the ampersand. As a result, Barbazan's rendition presents almost the same difficulties as the medieval source for readers with no prior experience in Old French.

This method turned out to be inadequate for readers' needs, and Barbazan's work was nearly forgotten a few years after its publication. Some twenty years later, a Jesuit scholar whom Sainte-Palaye had taken under his wings, Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Le Grand d'Aussy, published a collection clearly intended to replace Barbazan's: *Fabliaux ou contes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, traduits ou extraits d'après divers manuscrits du temps* (Paris, 1779). Le Grand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux* presented, as the title suggests, Old French texts emended, translated, and sometimes only summarized. It was far more successful than Barbazan's work.[14] The best method of presenting medieval texts to an uninitiated public, according to Le Grand d'Aussy, was not a 'literal translation' nor a 'free translation', but what he called a 'reduced copy [*copie réduite*], for which I had to employ new colours' – in other words, a paraphrase or summary of the work which adjusted it to convey its quintessence to a modern audience. It was essential to preserve the *fabliaux*' 'original character . . . their naïve narration, their touching simplicity'. But alterations would be required, for their language was no longer understood. And so Le Grand d'Aussy became the *fabliaux*' interpreter: 'Without saying something different, I felt I could at times say it better'.[15] By the 1780s, Le Grand d'Aussy's liberal editing policy had won the day and medieval works were more often than not presented in paraphrase or free translation.

A good example of the *copie réduite* is Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye's rendition of 'Aucassin et Nicolette' published in 1752. Sainte-Palaye made serious emendations to this medieval text since, he argued, few could read Old French. He nonetheless assured his literary audience that he had 'scrupulously rendered the simplicity and the naïveté of the dialogue'. For comparison, here is an excerpt from the original manuscript next to Sainte-Palaye's rendition of it; the scene takes place outside of Nicolette's prison, as the guard sings to her. Incidentally, Sainte-Palaye did not provide the music found in the original:

BnF ffr 2168, fol. 74v	**Sainte-Palaye's *Les amours*** (1752)
mescinete o le cuer franc	Pucelle avec un cœur franc,
cors as gent & avenant	Un cors tu as gentil, plaisant,
le poil blont & avenant	Les cheuveux blonds et avenans,

vairs les ex ciere riant	Les yeux et vairs et rians,
bien le voi a ton sanblant	Bien voit-on à ton semblant
parle as a ton amant	Que parlé tu as à ton Amant,
qui por toi se va morant	Qui pour toi s'en va mourant.[16]

[Young girl with an honest heart, a pleasant and comely body, lovely blond hair and laughing green eyes, I can see from your countenance that you have spoken with your lover who is dying of love for you.]

While generally following the original's phrasing, Sainte-Palaye has frequently changed the spelling and even wording, exchanging the original 'mescinete' for 'pucelle', for example. Here, medieval words had been entirely replaced by modern ones which better expressed the Middle Ages to the modern reader. As Geoffrey Wilson has written about the *copie réduite* method, 'the bitter pill which Barbazan's readers refused to swallow has now been made quite palatable'.[17]

We should note at this point that a significant segment of this readership appears to have been made up of women of the nobility. André-Guillaume Contant d'Orville's *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque* (1779–88) were specifically compiled for and dedicated to a noble patroness; the author even treated the little-explored subject of medieval women writers at one point.[18] The *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* re-edited a considerable number of the literary works for women (and often by women) already cited in chapter 2.[19] And the *Bibliothèque* often addressed its readers as 'Dames Françoises', despite the editor's occasional condescension to his *Lectrices*.[20] It is thanks to this significant body of women readers especially that many medieval works were disseminated in the eighteenth century. The continuing popularity this literature enjoyed would ultimately lead, in the last two decades of the century, to the so-called *genre troubadour*, a sort of eighteenth-century version of the 'style marotique'. Here, the term 'troubadour' connoted not just the medieval poets of Occitania, but the trouvères, late medieval poets and even contemporary imitators of these. So popular was the *genre troubadour* that it extended to clothing and furniture styles.[21] By century's end, the Middle Ages had succeeded in making a significant contribution to popular culture. Although emphasis is frequently put on the accomplishment of male academicians such as the prolific Sainte-Palaye, it is worth emphasizing that the rise of medievalism during this period owed just as much – if not more – to the women readers just mentioned and to the path-breaking work of earlier women writers cited in chapter 2 (pp. 55 and 81), including Villandon to whom we shall return shortly.

In the process, the perception of the Middle Ages was shaping into a complex and dynamic historical organism. Eighteenth-century antiquarians

discovered that these were not the times of barbarism and ignorance so frequently deplored by their predecessors and even contemporaries. Not only this, but French antiquity could no longer be ignored in the study of literature. Sainte-Palaye insisted that scholars should now be ashamed if they had not read the medieval stories once considered the 'immondices des bibliothèques'. These were the first great works of French literature and should be read as such. As Caylus put it, had not the medieval *fabliaux* directly inspired the great La Fontaine, among others?[22] The Middle Ages were furthermore idealized in a return of Clément Marot's 'bon vieulx temps'. Marot's famous old rondeau was cited at the very beginning of Sainte-Palaye's edition of 'Aucassin et Nicolette' mentioned earlier. The edition's sub-title spelled out the nostalgic meaning of a medieval antiquity – 'On n'aime plus comme on aimoit jadis' – and opened with Clément Marot's 'rondeau du bon vieulx temps'.[23] Paradoxically, our antiquarians could not resist preserving the older image of a primitive and morally wanting French antiquity. Sainte-Palaye admitted that medieval works could be 'very crude and quite despicable in many respects' ('très-grossier et très méprisable à bien des égards'); Caylus commented on the 'obscenity' and 'naïve piety' of those 'backward times'.[24] These impressions found their expression in the word *gothique* which designated 'all that which in the arts and society is a reminder of times of ignorance'.[25]

This great wave of Enlightenment medievalism in some ways repeated a sixteenth-century phenomenon already visited in chapter 2: a response to the incursion of Italian art in French culture. By mid-century, Parisians were favouring things Italian, especially music, as seen in the famous 'Querelle des bouffons'. A reply to this among French antiquarians took two forms. The first was an elevation of Old French over Old Occitan works, motivated by the long-standing Italian interest in the *Provenzali*. Already in the 1720s, Jesuit and later academician Guillaume (L'Abbé) Massieu declared that 'we [the French] have vernacular rhymed poetry predating the oldest poetry claimed by the Provençaux'; and the bulk of this great literature could be found in what he called 'the century of Saint Louis'.[26] According to Le Grand d'Aussy writing a little later, the recent French taste for Italian music had made his compatriots forget the great and renowned French medieval epic which was far superior to the insipid and cliché-ridden poems of the troubadours which Italian writers praised, as he put it.[27] These biting remarks sparked a brief but lively debate between 1779 and 1781, later nicknamed the 'Querelle des troubadours et des trouvères'.[28] The chief interest of this 'querelle' (for my purpose) was Le Grand d'Aussy's insistence on the superiority of the trouvères in the face of both relatively

little scholarly interest in Old French literature and a long tradition of Italian troubadour panegyric, as already discussed in chapter 2. These had misled Le Grand d'Aussy himself, as he recounted, until he began working with Sainte-Palaye and discovered the riches of Old French literature; only then did he find out that, as he put it, there was no troubadour equivalent to the *Roman de la Rose*.[29] The second aspect of this French reaction to Italian cultural dominance was the reclaiming of Old Occitan literature as 'French'. This phenomenon is implicit in some anti-Crescimbeni remarks from the *Histoire littéraire de la France*'s entry on Guilhem de Poitiers cited earlier.[30] But nowhere is it clearer than in the work of the indefatigable Sainte-Palaye, whose monumental and still unpublished copies of troubadour manuscripts were the foundation of Jesuit historian Claude-François-Xavier (L'Abbé) Millot's *Histoire littéraire des Troubadours* (1774).[31] Sainte-Palaye's work on the Occitan poets, especially his placement of them within the context of a French rather than an Italian literary movement, set the course for the later philological enterprise which I describe in the next two chapters.

Given this context, it is understandable that French antiquarians produced considerably less analysis on the troubadours in the eighteenth century. This was in part because politically, the regions of Provence and Languedoc experienced increasing conflict with the north in the first half of the century. In particular, provincial administrators were threatened by the demands of royal governors and *intendants*; and Jansenist and Protestant elements in the south came into friction with the Catholic church authorities in the north, and especially the Jesuits, those learned representatives of Catholic orthodoxy. Royal administrators were officially challenged in 1730 when the Parliament of Aix-en-Provence refused to obey anti-Jansenist controls. The very next year came the notorious Girard-Cadière affair in which a Jesuit priest was accused of sexually harassing a young woman from Toulon. The tension during this period increased with the north's continued suppression of southern dialects and Provence's losses in the 1740s during the War of Austrian Succession.[32]

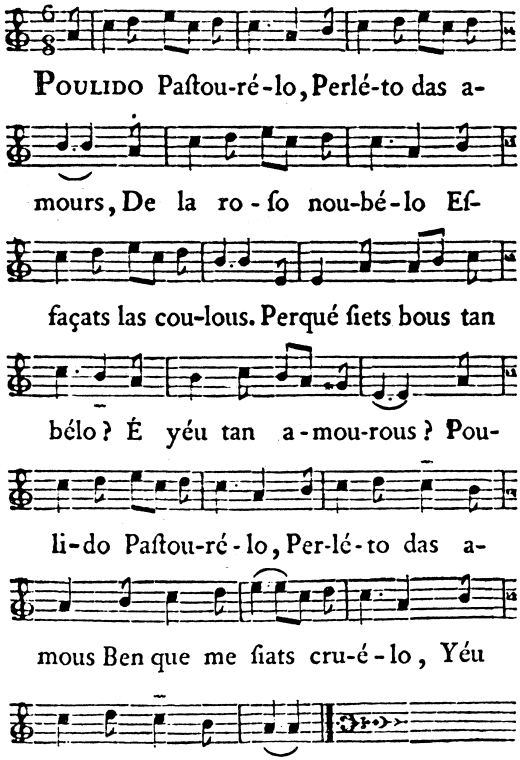
These events were followed by a comparatively peaceful period in Provence and Languedoc, and it is during this time that Parisian audiences became interested in southern language and culture, which they seem to have viewed as remote and even archaic. Languedocian and Provençal songs evoked medieval song, echoing, it seems, Montaigne's *villanelles* of Gascogne which 'contained naïve and elegant elements'. It was a Gasconnais, Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de Mondonville, who wrote both text and music for *Daphnis et Alcimadure*, describing it as a 'pastorale languedocienne'.

Premièred at the royal court at Fontainebleau in December 1754, it went to the Opéra the following month, where it soon dethroned Lully's *Thésée* and was presented frequently into the 1770s.[33] *Daphnis* was successful because it was novel; the literary periodical the *Mercure de France* called it 'a completely unknown genre', and its perceived originality was due both to its libretto in 'langue d'oc' and to its reference to the old *Provenzali* poets.[34] It recalled the troubadours of 'nostre antiquité', with a prologue entitled *Académie des Jeux Floraux*, the descendant of the medieval *Consistori de la Subragaya Companhia del Gay Saber*. Mondonville accentuated the feeling of a re-creation of the old south by hiring performers who were from that region, a fact which the *Mercure de France* was sure to point out.[35] The same reviewer claimed that this new opera 'reminds us of the arts and letters from France's Golden Age', and compared Mondonville to 'our famous troubadours'.[36] With its arcane pastoral references, 'Languedocian' text and opening allusion to the *art de trobar*, *Daphnis et Alcimadure* associated Occitan antiquity with what Montaigne had earlier called 'popular and purely natural' song. Mondonville's melodies appear to have been inspired by popular tunes from his native Narbonne, such as the melody in example 3.1 sung by Daphnis.[37]

Daphnis' success was followed, over the next half century, by other such entertainments given before royal and Parisian audiences. These mixed southern dialects (often simply called 'provençal') with standard French for comic effect.[38]

The music of *Daphnis* seems to have inspired other such southern tunes which show up in the period immediately following the opera's première. Poet and musician François Augustin-Paradis de Moncrif published two songs or *romances* with melodies in 1756 which he had earlier labelled 'sur un Air Languedocien': 'Contre un engagement' and 'Pourquoi rompre leur mariage'.[39] The latter was the melody for his *romance* of Alix and Alexis. It resurfaces in the *Journal de musique* (1773) and the *Mercure de France* (1780), where it makes use of a different text beginning 'Lou béou Tircis'. In the former instance, it is labelled 'chanson provençale', while in the latter it is called 'romance languedocienne', showing the equivalence of the Languedoc and Provence to outsiders. Example 3.2 is that melody.[40]

The origins of this tune are not known, but its ambiguous seventh degree and iambic patterns exhibit a certain vague archaism, as Daniel Heartz has pointed out.[41] In another instance, the 1767 *Almanach des muses* published two songs with music labelled 'cansou langodoucieno'. One of these, 'Al léba dé l'auroro', was attributed to a canon from Montpellier


Poulido Paſtou-ré-lo, Perlé-to das a-
mours, De la ro-ſo nou-bé-lo Eſ-
façats las cou-lous. Perqué ſiets bous tan
bélo ? É yéu tan a-mou-rous ? Pou-
li-do Paſtou-ré-lo, Per-lé-to das a-
mous Ben que me ſiats cru-é-lo, Yéu

Example 3.1: Daphnis' aria 'Poulido Pastourélo' from Mondonville, *Daphnis et Alcimadure* (1754), Act 1, scene 5

and had been 'transcribed from a defective copy which was missing a strophe' – an anonymous remnant salvaged from an undefined point in the past.[42] Whether from Languedoc or Provence, Toulouse or Montpellier, it did not matter. The exact origin of these quaint melodies was not as important as their connection to a mysterious past. Like the music of *Daphnis*, these folkloric melodies in some vague southern dialect reminded readers of a distant antiquity, and ultimately the troubadours, as *Daphnis* made explicit. The late-Enlightenment fascination by a largely urban, Parisian audience with popular southern song is ironic considering the neglect of troubadour music in scholarship during this same time. Only one troubadour melody was published in the eighteenth century – and this by an Englishman – compared to over thirty trouvère songs in mostly French publications.


ROMANCE.
LANGUEDOCIENNE.
Lou béou Tir-cis fé prou-mé-
na-vo fou-let un jour, countant ei
bois cé qu'éndu-ra-vo dau mao d'a-
mour; é li di-fié, bel-lé bar-
gie-ré, qu'iou aïmi tan, qué tai fa
per m'eſtré tan fieré, deſpui un an.

Example 3.2: Anonymous Provençal song 'Lou béou Tircis' from *Journal de musique* (1773)

FACT AND FANCY IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned two Enlightenment approaches to medieval song, illustrated in Burney's two renditions of Gaucelm Faidit's *planh*. You will have probably noticed some resemblance between these and two earlier strands discussed in chapter 2, the 'style marotique' and the more scholarly work of Nostredame and Fauchet. These two approaches became even more pronounced in the Enlightenment. The scholarly, literal approach advocated a study of the primary sources, what I call below musical antiquarianism – the musical facts, so to speak. In the more creative approach, authors disregarded medieval chansonniers and relied on their own imagination to produce a medieval song. As precarious

as this partnership of fact and fancy was, it was more often than not an amicable one which took a middle course between literal and creative readings of medieval chansonniers. It was this delicate balance of fact and fancy which would have an enduring impact on the reception of medieval French music until the present day.

The factual or literal approach owed its development to the work of scholars sponsored by an institution, religious or otherwise, which enabled them to pursue the esoteric interests of medieval history and literature, to paraphrase Daniel Roche.[43] Many of these were members of the *Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres* mentioned above. Strictly speaking, the French study of medieval antiquities went as far back as Fauchet and, later, the *Académie royale*. But such remarkable events as the unearthing of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the first half of the eighteenth century spurred antiquarianism on to new heights. The *voyage d'Italie*, the journey to see these monuments in person, became a requisite experience for many noblemen; Caylus made his *voyage* in his twenties and Sainte-Palaye in his forties.[44] Other scholars worked under the auspices of the Catholic church: beyond those cited earlier were palaeographer Jean Mabillon, antiquarian Bernard de Montfaucon, and Antoine Rivet de la Grange, first editor of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*. The editorial method associated with this approach was the more literal method of Barbazan and others described earlier.

But the method of choice in the eighteenth century was some form of Le Grand's *copie réduite*;[45] fancy had won over fact. In *La Tour Ténébreuse et les Jours Lumineux* (1705), Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, a learned poet and historian by then just past the age of forty, related the story of Richard the Lionhearted's deliverance. Villandon is said to have found it in an early fourteenth-century manuscript entitled *Chronique et Fabliaux de la composition de Richard Roy d'Angleterre* by a scribe named Jehan de Sorels, an anonymous 'learned man whose curiosity for *l'antiquité gauloise* was without limits'. But she also claimed to have consulted other works, including 'a very old manuscript by an anonymous author', which was probably a chansonnier.[46] Villandon specifically repudiated earlier such stories 'dans les Livres en papier bleu' and claimed a new authenticity for her tale.[47] She promised to relate the substance of the original, but not without some significant alterations:

> But I will neither use the same expressions nor keep overly long narrations. I will furthermore feel free to add some thoughts here and there, while removing certain circumstances which would not suit today's taste. It is thus not King Richard who speaks, it is I.[48]

L'Heritier's near 500-page tale frames several extensive *contes* into a free adaptation of Richard's deliverance by Blondel. Along the way, she inserts several short poems, two of which she claims to be based on medieval works. These she identifies in her preface, without giving away the exact location of their paraphrase later in her text: 'Domna vostra beutas' (the third strophe of PC 97,6, on which see below), 'Se loyautez valoit mielx que trahir' (the final strophe of Blondel de Nesle's 'Bien doit chanter' RS 482) and 'Ja nuls hom pres' (PC 420,2), the latter attributed to Richard the Lionhearted.[49] 'Se loyautez' is the source for a refrain which appears several times in Villandon's *conte* 'Ricdin-Ricdon': 'Si L'Amour ne livroit aux mêmes avantures'.[50] In the following comparison between Blondel's song and 'Si L'Amour', we can see how freely she interpreted her medieval source. It is indeed Villandon speaking:

From 'Bien doit chanter' (RS 482) [as cited by Villandon]	**Refrain from Villandon's 'Ricdin-ricdon'**
Se loyautez valoit mielx que trahir, Et amor veult les bons à droit partir: Encor pourroy je à grant joye venir. Mais pitiez est en li si endormie, Qu'el ne veult occire ne guarir.	Si L'Amour ne livroit aux mêmes avantures, Les sinceres Amants & les Amans parjures: Si ce redoutable Vainqueur Sçavoit recompenser la constance d'un cœur, Dans mille doux plaisirs je passerois ma vie; Mais la pitié chez luy pour toujours endormie, Fait qu'il ne me veut point guérir, Ni me laisser mourir.
[If loyalty was worth more than treason and love wished to fairly share its goods, I might still achieve great joy. But pity has so fallen asleep in her, That she wishes neither to kill nor heal me.]	[If love did not give up to the same circumstances both sincere lovers and perjuring ones – if this formidable conqueror knew how to reward a heart's constancy, I would spend my life amidst a thousand pleasures. But since pity is forever asleep in him he neither heals nor kills me.]

Marc-Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson, known as the Marquis de Paulmy, rivalled in his day even the great Sainte-Palaye as one of the most knowledgeable scholars of medieval literature. The editor of many medieval texts and the founder of the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*, the bibliophile Paulmy inherited his father's impressive library which, considerably expanded by Paulmy's acquisitions during his many travels, eventually became the present-day Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. Like Le Grand d'Aussy, Paulmy also followed the *copie réduite* method in editing medieval

texts, as, for example, in his presentation of several trouvères' works from a manuscript then in his collection, chansonnier K. Paulmy explained his edition as follows:

> I have not always used the expressions of those fathers of French poetry and song because I wanted to be understood. But I have attempted to imitate their naïveté and delicateness, and have made every attempt to preserve their spirit.[51]

Like Villandon, Paulmy did not state the specific sources for his renditions. One of these, 'En revenant de Nivelle', he labelled: 'Seconde Chanson du Duc de Brabant: c'est une Pastourelle assez gaie'. That Paulmy was directly inspired by the chansonnier in his posession is clear; his song matches the only *pastourelle* by Henri III duke of Brabant in chansonnier K, found on page 242: 'L'autrier estoie montez' (RS 936). Here is Paulmy's version contrasted with the original:

'Lautrier estoie' in chansonnier K, p. 242	**'En revenant' by Paulmy** (1777)
L'autrier estoie montez seur mon palefroi anblant, et pris m'estoit volentez de trouver un nouviau chant. Tout esbanoiant m'en aloie, truis enmi la voie pastore seant loing de gent. Belement la salu et li dis, 'Vez ci vo dru'.	En revenant de Nivelle (ville du Brabant) Monté sur mon palefroy Revant à je ne sais quoi, Rencontre une Pastourelle Je l'aborde joliment Descendant de ma monture, Et lui fais un compliment Convenable à l'aventure . . .[52]
[The other day I was on my mount just riding along, when I was seized with the desire to create a new song. In a good mood I went along, when I found in the path a shepherdess sitting away from the crowd. Politely I saluted her, and said 'Here is your lover!']	[As I returned from Nivelle (town in Brabant), riding my mount and dreaming of I know not what, I met a shepherdess. I politely approached her as I dismounted, and made a compliment fitting to my adventurous purpose . . .]

Paulmy here freely adapted the original work, even adding the town of Nivelle in the first line (and specifying its location in parentheses) to make the poem's authorship more evident than in the original itself. Elsewhere, Paulmy extended these liberties even further in his version of the 'Chanson de Roland'. In an entire issue of the *Bibliothèque des Romans* devoted to Roland lore, Paulmy concluded that the original 'Chanson de Roland' – by which he meant the aforementioned Normans' 1066 Battle of Hastings war song evoking the eighth-century hero Roland – was probably lost. As a

substitute, he offered a lengthy freely confessed fabrication which contained the following refrain:

Soldats français, chantons Roland,	[Soldiers of France, let us sing of Roland,
De son pays il fut la gloire.	Who was the glory of his country.
Le nom d'un guerrier si vaillant	The name of such a valiant warrior
Est le signal de la victoire.[53]	Is the signal of victory.]

If not the exact words, surely this expressed at least the spirit of the original Song of Roland, Paulmy maintained.

As we have seen, in the more creative and fanciful approach which constituted the *copie réduite* method, authors frequently appealed to the concept of naïveté as essential to the *antiquité françoise* or Middle Ages.[54] By the eighteenth century, *naïf* (used both as adjective and substantive) had become a word encircled by a constellation of meanings. What was *naïf* was untampered and as close as possible to its natural state, such as virgin oil or a pure emerald.[55] In art, something *naïf* needed to exhibit spontaneity as well as veracity; to best imitate nature, the *naïf* should be free of artifice. Art could furthermore improve on nature by expressing its ideal better than nature herself, hence *les beaux arts*.[56] The *naïf* in art was a paradox of composition and spontaneity. *Le naïf* assumed a prominent place in the Enlightenment, not only in making art, but in making history as well, and especially music history. As explained in the *Encyclopédie*'s preliminary section, history, an activity of memory (*mémoire*), was closely linked to poetry, a work of imagination. Memory produced 'imagined individuals in imitation of historical characters' – or, as Voltaire put it, imagination depended on memory.[57] And music, or *chant*, was history's first artistic activity; for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, music was intertwined with the origins of language.[58] Ancient music presented a special problem in the activity of imagination-memory, for here, unlike the visual and literary arts, 'time has destroyed any remnant which the ancients might have left us' – only obscure theoretical descriptions of older music remained.[59] Sung music (*chant*) had left no traces: it was the perfect historical exercise for *imagination*. If the *naïf* was essential to imagining-remembering the Middle Ages, how much more true would this be for the evanescent music of that time?

In these naïve Middle Ages, trouvère legends played a critical role, especially those of Richart the Lionhearted, the Châtelain de Coucy and Thibaut de Champagne. Richart's tale remained popular throughout the eighteenth century, thanks in part to Villandon's *Tour Ténébreuse* which was re-edited in the July 1776 instalment of the *Bibliothèque des romans*.[60] This

in turn inspired Michel-Jean Sedaine's libretto for André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry's *Richard Cœur de Lion* (1784) discussed below. The Châtelain de Coucy's legend of the eaten heart resurfaced in many guises, one of the earliest and certainly the most enduring being Marguerite de Lussan's paraphrase in her *Anecdotes de la cour de Philippe Auguste* (1733–9); Lussan was one of the several important early eighteenth-century women authors on medieval material cited earlier. Though Lussan had probably consulted the medieval *Roman du Castelain de Coucy*,[61] her account was, like Villandon's *Tour Ténébreuse*, a highly expanded and refurbished version of the story.[62] By the time Paulmy reproduced Lussan's story in the 1778 issue of the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*,[63] the Coucy legend was famous enough to have earned it the status of a national legend. As Baculard d'Arnaud put it in his play based on the story, in its truly tragic nature, the legend of the Châtelain de Coucy's eaten heart was superior to Hamlet or even the esteemed tragedies of Corneille and Racine.[64]

As for Thibaut de Champagne, it was in the Enlightenment that he rose to his pre-eminent position in the modern trouvère canon. In the 1720s, Guillaume (l'Abbé) Massieu, after citing Thibaut's affair with Blanche de Castille, elaborated on Fauchet's famous 'salle de Provins' passage in which Thibaut allegedly writes songs on his palace walls at Provins. 'He even founded a kind of academy which met in a room in his palace on certain days of the week', Massieu added.[65] The idea of a medieval academy, partly inspired by the *jeux-partis* between Thibaut and other poets of his time, was naturally an attractive one at the time, especially to the academician Massieu. Paulmy would mechanically repeat this in the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*, adding that the members of Thibaut's academy also included the Châtelain de Coucy and Gace Brulé.[66] Levesque de la Ravallière's landmark 1742 edition of Thibaut's songs cited earlier, however, aimed to debunk such long-standing myths as these. By fanning the flames of this historico-literary quarrel, Ravallière guaranteed Thibaut's primacy in the Old French canon; by offering an authoritative and unprecedented collection of Thibaut's songs, he placed his subject at the head of a new genre, the 'complete works' edition of an Old French author. Ravallière argued that Thibaut had never been in love with Blanche, refuted the idea of a Thibaut academy and countered Fauchet's claim with an eye-witness report that no writing survived on what remained of Thibaut's palace walls at Provins.[67] But Ravallière left some doubt regarding the latter question, for he followed his statements with a rebuttal printed earlier in the *Mercure de France* by Le Pelletier. The latter cited an earlier eye-witness who claimed that, although those walls had since been destroyed, Thibaut's songs had

indeed once adorned the Palais des Comtes in Provins – a claim which Ravallière did not specifically refute.[68]

This ambivalence by the foremost authority on Thibaut de Champagne tempted later writers to accept the possibility that Thibaut had actually written his songs on his palace walls at Provins. Some twenty years later, Jean Monet's *Anthologie françoise* depicted Thibaut seated in his palace room; on the wall behind him, loomed a 'Ballade de Thibeau' painted in large letters (figure 3.2).

Ten years later, Paulmy provided a musical explanation for these literary wall ornaments:

> Thibaud had in these two towns [Troyes and Provins] a palace each, in which the main room was large enough for music and concerts. Some claim that, in order for the melodies for these songs to be performed, they were written in large notes on the wall, no doubt so that a great orchestra would be able to see them.

He substantiated this claim with what sounded like a first-hand observation of the palace's remains at Provins:

> One can still see the old room at Troyes; but there is nothing left in connection with Thibaut's poetry and love life. At Provins, one can see a vault now used as a prison, which supposedly was once part of the other room; and there appear to be on the walls letters and musical notes which people claim are the remains of the songs of Thibaut and his artistic comrades.[69]

Thibaut's songs remained firmly etched on the walls of his palace after all.

This is not the only instance of the Enlightenment proclivity for fanciful representations of medieval music. Just as some saw on the walls at Provins remains of Thibaut's songs, others heard echoes of the Song of Roland in their time, for Roland's song continued to seize the literary and musical imagination in the Enlightenment. In his 1778 *Roland*, Niccolò Piccinni set the same text cited earlier (example 2.7) from Lully's opera by the same name, although Piccinni's 'Roland courez aux armes' was primarily for chorus rather than solo voice.[70] Likewise, Louis-Elisabeth de La Vergne, Comte de Tressan, a retired marshal turned scholar, imagined the Song of Roland in his own way. Tressan was a frequent editor of medieval texts, from the *Roman de la Rose* to the Prose Tristan redaction. His interpretations often took Le Grand's *copie réduite* policy one step further. They were more often than not loose paraphrases, if not complete reinterpretations which bore little resemblance to medieval sources. His special gift lay in making these texts accessible to the general public.[71] In a poem dedicated to Tressan, Voltaire stated that the count had captured the spirit of the


Ballade de
Thibaut, Cte de Champ.
H. Gravelot inv.
N. le Mire Sculp.
Thibaut fut Roi, galant, et valeureux
Ses haut faits et son Rang n'ont rien fait pour sa gloire ;
Mais il fut Chansonnier et ses Couplets heureux
Nous ont conservé sa mémoire.

Figure 3.2: Thibaut de Champagne in his palace listening to a song as depicted in Jean Monet's *Anthologie française* (1765), vol. 1

Middle Ages; if the 'first poets' were gods and lovers, so was Tressan, who belonged with them, as Voltaire put it, to that first age ('premiers tems').[72] Tressan himself believed in the continuity of older song into his own time. For instance, he claimed that certain songs sung by wine-growers around Marseille went back to Pindar's odes, for they had been preserved 'from generation to generation by oral tradition'.[73] And he claimed to know of similar vestiges of the famous Song of Roland. It was, according to him, still sung by peasants in the Pyrénées mountains. His acquaintance the Marquis du Viviers Lausac had hastily written down some of these songs which appeared to be related to the ancient Roland canticle. Lausac's field notes inspired Tressan to write the following paraphrase of them:

> O Rolland! Honneur de la France, que par toi mon bras soit vainqueur! Dirige le fer de ma lance à percer le front ou le coeur du fier ennemi qui s'avance![74]
>
> [O Roland! France's honour, may my arm be victorious thanks to you! Direct the iron of my spear to pierce the head or heart of the proud oncoming enemy!]

Thus carried through centuries of oral tradition, the Song of Roland, according to Tressan, had reached the Enlightenment, buried away in southern France – like the medieval romances in popular Languedocian airs cited earlier or Montaigne's pure poetry embedded in Gascognese *villanelles*. Seemingly so distant, even unattainable, the Song of Roland had never really left the Pyrénées where the hero's horn had first sounded. It had remained there all along, preserved in the memory of a southern peasant. From an eighteenth-century perspective, given medieval song's quintessential naïveté and affinity to southern folk song, this was not so surprising a place at all.

MUSICAL ANTIQUITIES

The antiquarian movement described earlier, mostly confined to areas outside of music such as literature and art, had reached historical music studies by the eighteenth century. The nascent field of musical antiquarianism included the trouvères and, to a much lesser degree, the troubadours; its practitioners were, more often than not, affiliated with the Catholic church. Many French ecclesiastic scholars' interest in medieval music theory flowed out of their advocacy of liturgical reform, as seen in Neo-Gallican chant of the time. Historians as early as Pierre-Benoît de Jumilhac in *La science et pratique du plain-chant* (1673), and later Jean Lebeuf, in his *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique* (1741), dug deeper into medieval sources to support their proposed emendations to traditional chant. Both Jumilhac



Example 3.3: Hymn in measured notation from Jean Lebeuf's *Traité historique* (1741)

and Lebeuf advocated rhythmicizing certain melodies, such as this hymn from Jean Lebeuf's treatise (example 3.3).[75]

This so-called *plainchant mesuré*[76] became a subject of controversy in the eighteenth century, since many felt that liturgical melodies should not be assigned exact durational values, but rather interpreted more freely; measured plainchant, they felt, sounded too much like secular song. As Philippe-Joseph Caffiaux put it in his unpublished music history (*c.* 1755), the ensuing debate came down to whether 'plainchant should be sung with equal or unequal notes [*à notes inégales*]'.[77] Sources following the measured style used breves, semibreves and longae as seen in example 3.3, while those of the equalist persuasion (*notes égales*) reproduced chant melodies using mostly one rhythmic value, the *longa* with a rectangular head framed by two protruding lines (#).

This was the note shape adopted by the editor of the first published trouvère melody: Mario Giovanni Crescimbeni, who, in the first volume of his commentary on the *Istoria della volgar poesia* (1702) cited earlier, reproduced Thibaut de Champagne's 'Je me cuidoie partir' (RS 1440).[78] Crescimbeni had been looking for a troubadour (not a trouvère) melody to illustrate his discussion of 'Provençal romances and their performance'. Unable to find a sample of troubadour music, he reproduced Thibaut's song which he had found in chansonnier a (fol. 8r), only recently acquired by the Vatican Library from Christina, Queen of Sweden. Crescimbeni's only comment was that this music was 'simple, if not coarse', as cited in this chapter's heading (example 3.4). His version of the chansonnier notation, apparently a wood engraving, reproduces the note shapes down to the plicae (see chapter 1, pp. 26–7) and ligatures, this despite a transcription error from '[le Jour mi] fait maint' to 'plaim & pleur'. That the engraver


Jau me qui doie partir damours mais riens ne me vaut.
li dous maus moi fait languir. qui nuit & jour ne mi faut.
le Jour mi fait maint à ſaut. & lanuit ne puis dormir.
ains plaim & pleur & ſoupir. Dieus dant fort quant
la remir. mais bien ſai que leu cant.

Example 3.4: Transcription of chansonnier a's reading of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Je me cuidoie partir' in Crescimbeni, *Commentari . . . alla sua Istoria della volgar Poesia* (1702), vol. 1, 283–4

decided to render the chansonnier note shapes as those of equalist chant (to borrow Caffiaux' expression) is a rhythmic interpretation indebted to contemporary chant polemic rather than medieval evidence: chansonnier a's notes have neither the long tails nor the 'spiked' heads of this Enlightenment reading. It is significant that the first published edition of trouvère music in 1702 interpreted duration in an equalist way, for this approach has endured to the present day, as detailed in chapter 5.

The other competing editorial approach, called *à notes inégales* or *plain-chant mesuré* as just mentioned, would eventually lead to the 'modal interpretation' of vernacular medieval music based on the German notion of a

latent rhythm not specified in the notation, a notion usually credited to Friedrich Ludwig around 1910 (see chapter 5). But the latent rhythm idea, like the equalist approach, was first applied to trouvère and troubadour melodies long before the early twentieth century, in fact soon after Crescimbeni's edition. Twelve years after the popular 1730 re-edition of Crescimbeni's *Istoria* and its commentary, Levesque de La Ravallière's two-volume edition of Thibaut's songs cited earlier appeared, and it included nine melodies in an appendix.[79] A work pitched at both scholars and dilettantes, in the words of one reviewer, *Les Poësies du Roi de Navarre* (1742) was strongly praised; as another reviewer put it, *Les Poësies* was imbued 'with good taste and critical judgment'.[80] The author made clear his intent to enter the fray of the vernacular poetry debate I described in chapter 2:

> Up until now, people have thought that we owed our poetry to the Provençaux, and that they were the inventors of our songs. . . . But they will see that it is to Normandy that we owe the first known French poems.[81]

In effect, he was opposing such Italian advocates of the *Provenzali* as Crescimbeni: Ravallière offered a complete edition of poetry instead of earlier authors' excerpts; rather than relying on secondary sources such as Fauchet, he had consulted no less than eight chansonniers (see note 7 above); his historical conclusions rested on a more thorough reading of Thibaut's poems, as well as the latest research of Lebeuf, Mabillon, Cangé and Sainte-Palaye; he furthermore offered not one, but nine Thibaut melodies collated from the medieval sources.[82] That Ravallière considered his musical appendix a special improvement is clear from his derogatory remark about the great Fauchet who, as he put it, 'n'étoit pas musicien'.[83]

Ravallière's interpretation of Thibaut's melodies at first seems similar to Crescimbeni's, for he describes the notation of these songs as 'beautiful and true plainchant, called Gregorian: its notes are square . . . without indication of measure'.[84] Nonetheless, he admits to adding some rhythmic signs and accidentals not found in the chansonniers. This is permissible, he explains, since medieval scribes themselves did not indicate certain things which would have been supplied in performance.[85] Of the eight chansonniers consulted, six have music: M, N, R, T, X and a; but nowhere does Ravallière indicate which exact source he used for any one melody. From a comparison of his edition with these six extant sources, it seems that, while he generally relies on his medieval sources for his final edited version, he does not follow any one version exactly. In fact, only two of his nine melodies can be clearly related to a single chansonnier version: 'De


CHANSON IX.
POR conforter ma pe-ſan-ce Fais un ſon;
Bon iert, ſe il m'en avan-ce, Car Jaſon,
Cil qui con-quiſt la toiſon, N'ot pas ſi
grief pe-ni-tence-e-e-e-e-e.

Example 3.5: Edition of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Por conforter ma pesance' in Ravallière, *Les Poësies* (1742), vol. 2, 309

fine amors vient seance' (chansonnier T) and 'Por conforter ma pesance' (T). In all cases, he has added sharps and flats and occasionally altered the pitches. A significant example of the latter is 'L'autrier par la matinée', where Ravallière ends the melody on G rather than the A found in all extant sources, an alteration which seems intended to give to the song a feeling of G major tonality. In the area of rhythmic alterations, Ravallière begins departing from the equalist interpretation of plainchant when he encounters a brief alternation of *breves* and *longae* in T's reading of 'De fine amors'. In the next tune, 'Por conforter ma pesance', chansonnier T provides him with a clearly measured reading – incidentally, the only such extant version for this song.[86] Here especially, Ravallière follows T's alternation of *longae* and *breves*, as seen in example 3.5. This apparently inspires him to begin the next song, 'En chantant voel ma dolour', with the same rhythmic pattern although it is not found in any one of the extant readings. Ravallière thus initiates what would become a long-standing controversy of rhythmic interpretation in trouvère song by opposing Crescimbeni's equalist interpretation.

Crescimbeni and Ravallière's excursions in trouvère music were ahead of their time; that is to say, they did not meet with a significant amount of

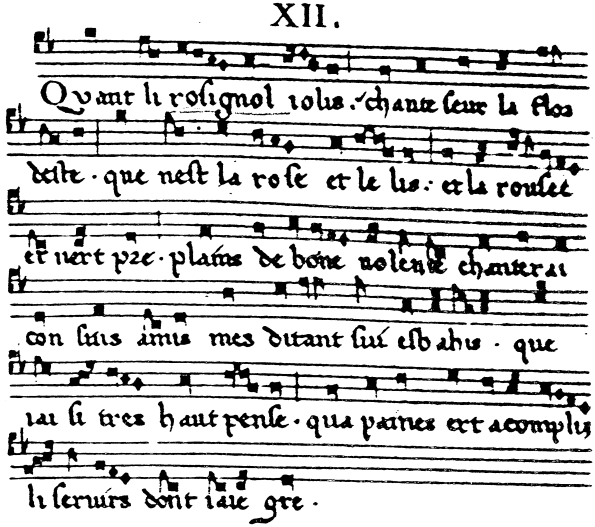
interest in the subject, since no such studies already existed. Reviewers of *Les Poësies* had little to say about this strange ancient music, except to comment on its imperfection and lack of appeal to contemporary musicians.[87] But by the third quarter of the century, the antiquarian interest in the trouvères described at the beginning of this chapter had drawn these poets out of the literary shadows. Furthermore, the archaeological efforts of Montfaucon and Johann Winckelmann were beginning to bear musical fruit, most notably in the work of Martin Gerbert, abbot at Saint Blasien, whose landmark edition of medieval music theorists is still used by scholars today.[88] One writer who relied on Gerbert's work was John Hawkins, in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776). When Hawkins set to write the section of his history devoted to the troubadours and trouvères, he relied a great deal on secondary sources such as Gerbert but also Crescimbeni, at one point citing nearly the whole of Crescimbeni's chapter 5 mentioned earlier.[89] Hawkins allowed himself a lengthy digression on Richard I the Lionhearted, including the legend of his capture and deliverance, since Richard was, after all, not only troubadour but king of England.[90] Yet on the whole, his treatment of the troubadours and trouvères was mostly unspectacular paraphrase or citation. He offered no other musical example than Thibaut's 'Je me cuidoie' which he had copied straight out of Crescimbeni's publication; although adding some mistakes of his own, he carefully reproduced Crescimbeni's note shapes.[91]

A mere four years after Hawkins' *History* one of the most influential Enlightenment works of musical archaeology and a landmark in the study of trouvère music appeared, Jean-Benjamin de Laborde's *Essai sur la musique*. In the employ of Louis XV and later Marie-Antoinette, Laborde was well connected to the aristocracy, including the Marquis de Paulmy, then owner of chansonnier K.[92] Laborde's 1780 *Essai* was a sprawling and disparate work whose four volumes roamed everywhere from ancient Chinese instruments to opéra-comique. The fourth book (in volume two) contained three chapters dealing with the trouvères: 'Des Chansons Françaises, etc.' (chapter 5), 'Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy' (chapter 6) and 'Table des Chansons, etc.' (chapter 7). These offered both a summary of the state of knowledge up to that time and a number of important contributions to trouvère music.

Laborde's alphabetical list of the trouvères in his fifth chapter supplied biographies updated from Fauchet with ample citations of complete poems. Following Ravallière, he used literary evidence to reinforce the historical identity of the trouvères, reserving his lengthiest (though ultimately erroneous) argument for Henri I de Bar as the author of 'De nos seigneur'


CHANSON XII.E
Lent
Quant li Ro-si-gnol jo-lis chante sur la flor d'Es-té
que nest la Rose et le Lis et la rouse-e et vert pré:
plains de bonne volen-té chan te-rai confins a-mis mais ditant
sui es ba-his que j'ai si très haut pen-se qüa paines
ert a-complis li ser-virs dont j'a-ie gré
Quant li Ro-si-gnol jo-lis chante sur la flor d'Es té,
que nest la Rose et le lis et la rou-se-e et vert pré:
plains de bonne volen-té chante-rai confins a-mis, mais ditant
sui es-ba-his que j'ai si trés haut pen-séqu'a paines
ert a-complis li - - - servirs dont j'a-ie gré.
Tome II Page 281

Example 3.6: Châtelain de Coucy's 'Quant li rosignol' as edited in Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (1780), vol. 2, 281


XII.
Quant li rosignol iolis chante leur la flos
delle · que nest la rose et le lis · et la roulet
et vert pre · plains de bone volente chanterai
con suis amis mes dutant sui esbahis · que
iai si tres haut pense · qua paines ert acomplis
li seruirs dont iaie gre ·

Example 3.7: Châtelain de Coucy's 'Quant li rosignol' as edited in *Mémoires historiques sur Raoul de Coucy* (1781), vol. 2

(RS 1522, actually by Henri III).[93] In this same spirit, he reserved an entire section (chapter 6) for the Châtelain de Coucy, attempting to do for this poet what Ravallière had done for Thibaut de Champagne some forty years earlier. After questioning the historicity of the legend of the eaten heart, he presented the full panoply of literary evidence, twenty-two songs accompanied by translations (the latter Ravallière had not even done for Thibaut). Four of these he presented in musical settings, providing both a rendition of the original notation and a duple metre interpretation: 'Comment que longue demeure' (RS 1010), 'Quant li rosignol' (RS 1559 shown in example 3.6), 'Moult m'est bele' (RS 209) and 'Commencement de douce' (RS 590).[94] Laborde excused this duple metre rendition by appealing to the rhythmic interpretation of chant melodies common in his day (the *plainchant mesuré* described above), and to the need to make trouvère music comprehensible to 'as wide a readership possible'.[95] A comparison with extant chansonniers shows that his unmentioned source for all but the first was Paulmy's manuscript (K), a source to which Laborde must have had special access.[96] The year after the *Essai*'s publication an anonymous *Mémoires historiques sur Raoul de Coucy* appeared, the second volume of which presented twenty of the Châtelain's songs with musical notation. All but two of these were drawn from chansonnier K.[97] The *Mémoires*

PREMIERE SECTION.

A 2 ou 3 Etamines.

	Feuilles.	*Fleurs.*	*Calice.*	*Corolle.*	*Etamines.*	*Piſtil.*	*Fruit.*	*Graines.*
Lilac. Tour. t. 372. *Syringa.* Lin.	Oppoſées, ſimples & ailées	Panicule termin.	Tube court. 4dents.	Tube long 4 diviſ.	2 courtes.	2 ſtigmates en lames	Capſule à 2 loges, & 2 valves.	1 pepin plat dans chaq. loge.
Pariaticu. Bram. *Manjapumeram. H. M.* t. 1. c. 21. *Arbor triſtis. C. B.*	Oppoſées ſimples.	Ombell. axill.	Tube long. entier.	Id. 6 à 8 div.	Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.
Pigafetta. Ad. *Eranthemum.* Lin.	Id.	Epi term.	5 feuilles.	Id. 5 diviſ.	Id.	Id.	. . . .	. . . .
Jaſminum. Tour. t. 368.	Oppoſées & alt. ſimples & ailées.	Corymb. & panicule termin.	Tube court, 5 dents	Id.	Id.	Id.	Baye. à 2 log.	1 id. demi-ovoïde.
Mogori. Bram. *Mella ... ulla. H. M.* 6. t. 30. *Nyctanthes.* Lin.	Oppoſées 2 à 3 ſimples.	Corymb. axill. & term.	Id. 7 à 9 diviſ.	Id 7 à 9 div.	Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.
Liguſtrum. Tour. t. 367.	Oppoſées.	Panicul. term.	Id. 4 dents.	Tube méd. 4 diviſ.	Id.	Id.	Id.	2 anguleux, id.
Phyllirea. Tour. t. 367.	Id.	Pluſieurs axill. & en cyme.	Id.	Tube court, id.	Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.

Figure 3.3: Table of plants in Michel Adanson, *Familles des plantes* (1763), 223

probably grew out of Laborde's work on the *Essai* and was published by him or a close associate.[98] As can be seen in 'Quant li rosignol' shown in example 3.7, the *Mémoire*'s twenty-two musical engravings reproduced K's notation with an exactitude representing a great improvement over Crescimbeni or Ravallière.

I have not yet mentioned the most innovative chapter in the *Essai*, the 'Table des Chansons'. Running well over forty pages, this typically eighteenth-century systematic tabulation can be compared, for example, to Michel Adanson's 1763 botanical classification shown in figure 3.3.[99] Adanson has classified each flower, moving from the outer features in

TABLE des Chanſons des XIIe & XIIIe ſiecles, qui ſe trouvent dans les Manuſcrits du Vatican, du Roi, de M. le Marquis de Paulmy, de M. de Sainte-Palaye, de M. de Clairambaut, & de MM. de Noailles (1).

A

Adam de le Halle ou *le Boſſu d'Arras.*

	V.	R.	P.	S.	C.	N.
A CHANTER ai volenté curieuſe	✲	.	.	✲	.	.
Amours ne me veut ouïr	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
Dame, vos hom vous eſtreine	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
D'amoureux cuer voeuil chanter	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
De chanter ai volonté curieuſe	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
De cuer penſieu & déſirrant	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
Glorieuſe Vierge Marie	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Grant déduit a et s'amoureuſe vie	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Hélas! il n'eſt mais nus qui aim	✲	.	.	✲	✲	✲
Je n'ai autre retenance	✲	.	.	(a)	.	✲
Je ne chant pas	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Je ſens en moi l'amour renouveler	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Il ne muet pas de ſans celui	✲	.	.	.	.	✲
Ki à droit veut amour ſervir	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
Li douz mauz mi renouvele	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Li jolis mauz que je ſens	.	.	.	✲	.	✲
Li mauz d'amer me plaiſt mieux	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Madame, je vous eſtrene	✲	.	.	.	.	.
Ma douce dame & amours	✲	.	.	✲	.	✲
Mais amors ſi de me plaindre	.	.	.	✲	.	✲
Merci, amour, de la douce doulor	.	.	.	✲	✲	.
Merveille eſt quel talent j'ai	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
Moult plus ſe paine amours	✲	.	.	✲	✲	.
	.					

(1) Les aſtériques marquent que les Chanſons ſe trouvent dans les Manuſcrits où on les voit placées.
Les (a) déſignent qu'elles y ſont anonymes.

Figure 3.4: Table of trouvère songs in Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, *Essai* (1780), vol. 2, 309

the left column to the innermost pollen grain at the far right. Similarly, as seen in figure 3.4, Laborde has organized trouvère songs according to six manuscripts labelled with their Enlightenment nicknames: those of the Vatican, the royal library, Paulmy, Clairambault, Noailles and Sainte-Palaye. The latter most likely referred to Sainte-Palaye's copies discussed below.[100] The manuscripts are reduced to sigla according to their location (V, R, P, C, N and S, respectively), and the songs to incipits. Like Adanson's flowers, Laborde's trouvère songs are readily apprehended by the

Enlightenment reader, their value reduced to their presence or absence in the extant chansonniers; they are summarized in a brief title and dissolved into little asterisks spread out across six columns. In Laborde's *Essai*, which filtered the old antiquarian work of Fauchet, Ravallière and others through its systematic scope, the trouvères had definitively entered the field of musical antiquities. Actually, the model for Laborde's table had been drawn up probably in the 1740s by Sainte-Palaye; it is found in the manuscript collections discussed below. Also running some forty pages, its title page reads:

> Alphabetical table of the poets whose works are found in my books, with the first verse of each of their songs and a sign to identify the manuscripts where I found their songs. F means Fauchet [Fauchet's *Recueil*], N the manuscript of Noailles, C the manuscript of Clairambault, R the King's number 7222, R [with a dash through it], that of the same Royal Library number 7613.[101]

What became of the troubadours in all this? For reasons explained earlier on in this chapter, their music was ignored in France until the nineteenth century. It was an Englishman, Charles Burney, who published the first troubadour melody in the second volume of his *General History of Music* (1782).[102] If Laborde was in dialogue with Ravallière, the starting point for Burney's discussion of troubadour and trouvère music in 1782 was Hawkins' 1776 *History*. Hawkins' complete five-volume work had appeared ten months after the first volume of Burney's history, which only covered the period up to the end of antiquity. Thereafter, the two histories became rivals, with Burney and his advocates hounding Hawkins' work openly in the press as flawed and hastily written.[103] Published six years later, Burney's second volume deliberately filled the lacunae in Hawkins' work, and particularly those pertaining to the troubadours; for Burney especially favoured the *Provenzali*, owing to his general prediliction for things Italian.[104] Had Hawkins relied mostly on secondary sources such as Crescimbeni? Burney cited that author only to correct his reading of Thibaut's tune.[105] Had Hawkins given but a cursory musical history of King Richard? Burney amplified it with another poem, 'Domna vostra beutas' (from Villandon's *Tour Ténébreuse*) as well as a translation of the only poem Hawkins cited, 'Ja nus hon'.[106] Had Hawkins failed to venture outside of England for his research, relying instead on 'correspondence with learned foreigners'?[107] Burney travelled to Italy where he discovered, among other things, the melody for 'Fortz chausa es', a lament on Richart's death. 'I found it in the Vatican', he proudly declared in the *History*.[108]

Indeed, Burney's *voyage d'Italie* was of great importance to him. As he wrote to a friend months before his departure, 'In the Vatican, I expect to find the original Notes of the Melodies sung by the Troubadours'.[109] Find them he did, although not before considerable hunting in the Vatican Library in the autumn of 1770. On 10 October of that year, while searching for the manuscript in which Crescimbeni had found the Thibaut de Champagne tune, Burney stumbled on another book:

> Most of the morning was lost in hunting after the large volume of Provençal songs No. 59 among the Queen of Sweden's books mentioned by Crescembeni; but unluckily the books had all been moved, and the numbers changed, since he wrote; so that it was impossible to find it – however, in the search, I found other curious things – among which, a volume of Provençal Romances, older than that I wanted, in which the musical notes are only points and accents – these were written in 1188.[110]

From Burney's description, this unidentified manuscript was clearly number 1659 in the Vatican Collection, troubadour manuscript η from table 1.1 (chapter 1), a literary source containing a single melody added as an afterthought. Manuscript η is a verse chronicle of the Third Crusade in Old French (not Occitan, as Burney presumed). The catalogue available to Burney wrongly gave this manuscript's *terminus ad quem* as 1188, but this is when the crusade began; it ended in 1192 and the manuscript was copied probably sometime in the late thirteenth century.[111] The single troubadour tune, Gaucelm Faidit's 'Fort chausa es' (PC 167,22) on folio 89v, with its neume-like rectangular notes and barely visible staff lines, matches Burney's description of 'points and accents'.[112] Burney's edition of it in his *History* would be the only troubadour melody printed in the eighteenth century. Two days later, when Burney finally located chansonnier a used by Crescimbeni, it was something of a disappointment. As he writes in his travel diary: 'It turns out to be more old French than Provençal. It is however very old and curious – the notes are Gregorian, upon four and sometimes five lines; no mark for time, nor different length of notes.'[113] It is significant that his main observation should have been the notation's lack of measure; Ravallière and others before him had also observed this. From this book he recopied Thibaut's 'Je me cuidoie'. As for the trouvères, Burney was less adventurous and remained content to copy from Ravallière and Laborde's publications. Burney had gone to Rome eagerly anticipating the discovery of troubadour music. His anticlimactic encounter with more trouvère than troubadour music had only yielded 'points and accents', and notation lacking measure.[114]

The advent of this Enlightenment musical antiquarianism we have just reviewed was due in no small part to a corpus of unpublished eighteenth-century marginal annotations to and copies of the medieval chansonniers. This exchange and copying of chansonniers accelerated as antiquarians thirsted to know more about the *antiquité françoise*; it ultimately grew into what Elizabeth Aubrey has called 'a dizzying criss-crossing of books, bookowners, and scribes'.[115] For the most part, these were private owners who wished to annotate their own books, although at times even manuscripts from the royal library were not exempt, as the late eighteenth-century annotations in chansonnier M attest.[116] Given the royal library's liberal policies at the time, its books were available for antiquarians to sign out and occasionally mark up themselves.[117] Drawing on royal books and privately owned chansonniers, these antiquarian bibliophiles not only wished to 'complete' their own chansonniers (as Cangé put it), but more than this: by comparing chansonniers and carefully noting their concordances and variants, they hoped to grasp the greater picture of trouvère transmission which extended beyond the individual codices in their possession.[118] Some of these antiquarians' annotations included music. Probably before 1733, the Châtre de Cangé annotated his three chansonniers (N, O, P) with concordances from other manuscripts he had borrowed, indicating discrepancies between readings. In the process, Cangé added three melodies to chansonnier O, one at the end of the codex (fol. 142) and the other two on folios 2r and 25v. So faithfully had the latter two been copied from royal genealogist Pierre Clairambault's manuscript that, up until Aubrey's recent revelation, they were assumed to be medieval.[119]

A more extensive musical collation was done by genealogist Clairambault sometime before his death in 1740, when he or a scribe in his service added thirty-seven complete and two partial melodies to his chansonnier. To replace the torn-out folios in his book, he added two loose paper sheets, folios 121 and 126 (the latter with no melodies) to the manuscript's fifteenth gathering, along with two entire gatherings, the seventeenth and eighteenth in the manuscript's present state, folios 136 to 147 and 148 to 154. Already at this time, the close relationship between this codex and chansonnier N was apparently known, for Clairambault chose the latter as a source for his lost songs. His two substitute gatherings follow chansonnier N's order of songs word for word and pitch for pitch: chansonnier X's folios 121r, 121v and 136r to 154v correspond exactly to N's folios 132, 81r and 91v to 109v, respectively.[120] As seen in figure 3.5, the musical notation reduces the chansonnier notation to uniform round white notes framed by vertical strokes of the type commonly used in handwritten instrumental music

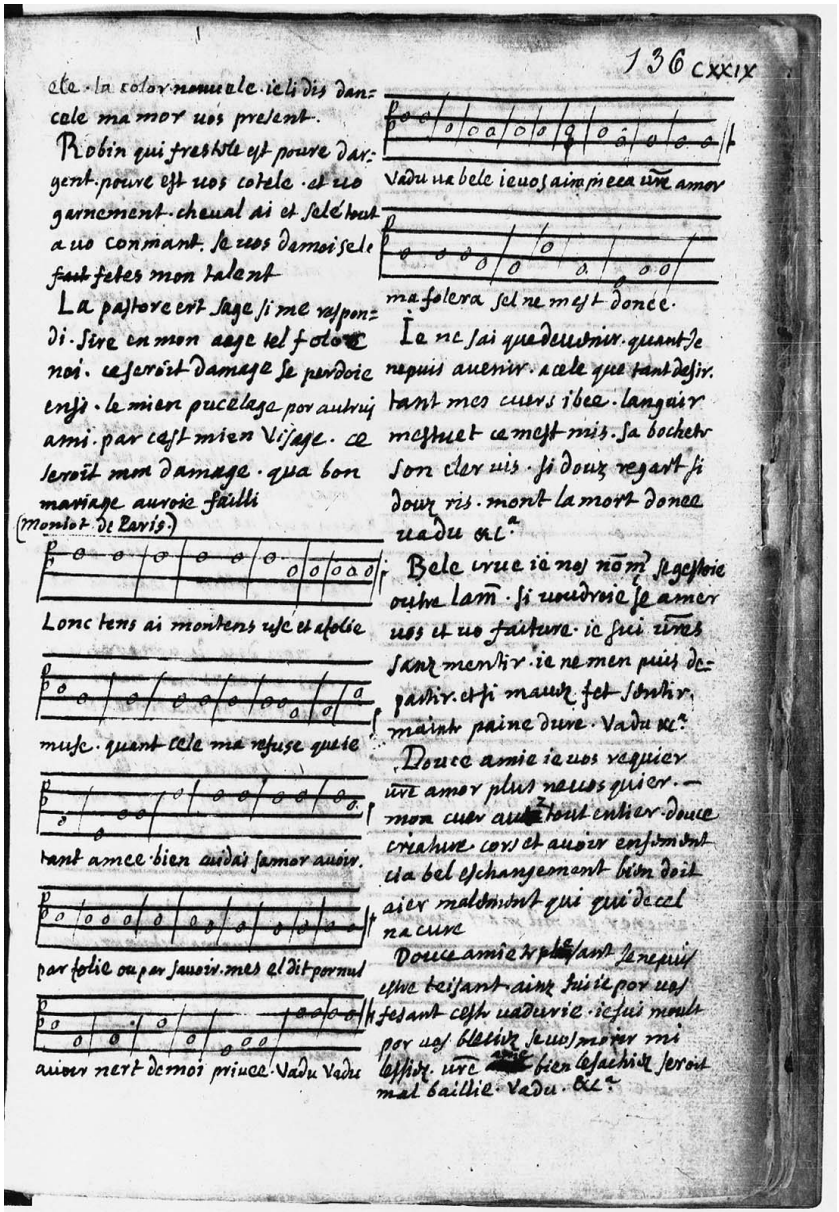

136 cxxix
cele · la color nouuele · ie li dis dan-
cele ma mor uos present.
Robin qui trestole est poure dar-
gent · poure est uos cotele · et uo
garnement · cheual ai et sele tout
a uo conmant. se uos damoisele
faut fetes mon talent
La pastore cri sage si me respon-
di · Sire en mon aage tel fol uos
noi · ce seroit damage se perdoie
enfi · le mien pucelage por autrui
ami · par cest mien Visage · ce
seroit mon damage · qua bon
mariage auroie failli
(moniot de Paris.)
Lonc tens ai mon tens use et folie
muse · quant cele ma refuse que ie
tant amee · bien cuidai s amor auoir.
par folie ou par sauoir. mes el dit pornul
auoir nert de moi priuee · Vadu Vadu
Vadu ua bele ie uos aim pieca uiue amor
ma folera sel ne mest donee.
Ie ne sai que deuenir · quant se
repuis auenir · a cele que tant desir.
tant mes cuers ibee · languir
me fuet · ce mest mis · sa bochete
son cler uis · si douz regart si
douz ris · mont la mort donee
ua du etc.
Bele uiue ie ne nomerai se gelosie
outre lam · si uoudroie se amer
uos et uo faiture · ie sui uiues
sans mentir · ie ne men puis de-
partir · et si mauroi fet sofrir
maint paine dure · Vadu etc.
Douce amie ie uos requier
uiue amor plus ne uos quier. —
mon cuer auec tout entier · douce
creature · cors et auoir enfoncent
ca bel eschangement bien doit
aler malement qui qui de cel
na cure
Douce amie ie plesant se repuis
estre baisant · ainz fuisse por uos
fesant cest uadurie · ie sui nouls
por uos bleciez se uos moier mi
lessier · uiue bien se sachiez seroit
mal baillie · Vadu · etc.

Figure 3.5: Moniot de Paris' 'Lonc tens ai mon tens usé', as transcribed from chansonnier N by Pierre Clairambault in chansonnier X, fol. 136/cxxix

Table 3.1. *Eighteenth-century copies of chansonniers (+ = with some music)*[122]

Manuscript shelfmark	Chansonnier copied
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2770	Aucassin+
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3094–5	R (troubadour)
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3098	G (troubadour)
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3101	a
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303	O+
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3304–6	X, T and tables
Paris, BnF ffr 12610	O+
Paris, BnF ffr 12611–3	X, T and tables
Paris, BnF ffr 12614	miscellany and table
Paris, BnF f. Moreau 1679	miscellany+
Paris, BnF f. Moreau 1687–8	B

of this period.[121] Like Crescimbeni's facsimile, it is an interpretation of trouvère song *à notes égales*, and thus another contributor to the growing rhythm debate over medieval music.

In tandem with these musical annotations and additions, entire chansonniers were copied in the eighteenth century for more extensive catalogues aimed at synthesizing troubadour and trouvère chansonniers; those copies which survive are listed in table 3.1. The earliest cataloguing project was a 'Glossaire de vieux françois', probably meant to improve Du Cange's 1678 *Glossarium*, which the publisher Antoine-Urbain Coustelier (the elder) left unfinished at his death in 1724. In preparation for his 'Glossaire', Coustelier copied the contents of chansonniers O, X and T (in that order), opening with Rémy's copies of the first chansonnier (discussed in chapter 2) which had been passed on to him. It was sometime in the 1710s or 1720s when Coustelier annotated his copy of Rémy's copy of chansonnier O and continued his anthology with manuscripts X and T, although it is unclear just how much of these he managed to copy before his death. Coustelier's anthology was never finished. In its manuscript form it nonetheless became an important source of information for scholars in the 1730s and 1740s. It must have circulated after his death, for two copies of it survive as the near-identical tomes listed in table 3.1, BnF ffr 12610–4 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303–6 which we have already encountered. A note on the title page of BnF ffr 12610 informs us: 'These four volumes come from the holdings of the library of Antoine-Urbain Coustelier, the Regent's imperial bookseller, who gave a beautiful and tidy edition of *French*

poets'.[123] This is supplemented by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye's note on Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303's title page: 'This collection drawn from different manuscripts was made under the care of Mr. Coustelier, printer and bookseller, who intended to publish it, and it was given to me by Mr. Lancelot'.[124] The first reference to Coustelier as the 'libraire impérial du Régent' (the Regent Philip of Orleans in the 1710s and 1720s) clearly points to the father, rather than the son by the same name, both publishers.[125]

Coustelier's anthology was then continued by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye for his projected anthology which he called 'Recueil de Poetes François avant 1300', ostensibly after Fauchet's earlier *Recueil*. As early as the 1730s, Sainte-Palaye undertook his own project of copying troubadour and trouvère chansonniers, among others.[126] This was apparently to be only one part of a much larger 'Glossaire François', which, like Coustelier's, was modelled on Du Cange's glossary.[127] The 'Recueil' was consulted by many Enlightenment antiquarians, from Le Grand d'Aussy to Laborde. As stated in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303's note just cited, following Coustelier's death in 1724, historian Antoine Lancelot obtained the manuscript and passed it on to Sainte-Palaye before Lancelot's death in 1740.[128] Sainte-Palaye had it copied and corrected, annotating it himself. Three copies of this layered, encyclopedic project in trouvère song have survived in Sainte-Palaye's final and much expanded version: BnF ffr 12610–4, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303–6 and BnF f. Moreau 1679.[129] Here, as with all his copies of medieval manuscripts, Sainte-Palaye followed the practice of making linguistic observations on the right-hand margin, and more general ones on the left. This can be seen in BnF ffr 12610, in figure 1 of chapter 2. As suggested earlier, on this particular folio, it appears that Sainte-Palaye has crossed out the earlier annotations which date back to Coustelier and Rémy; he has also collated Baudelot's chansonnier with those of Noailles and Clairambault.

A third manuscript listed in table 3.1, BnF f. Moreau 1679, was also copied and annotated by Sainte-Palaye.[130] Its title page bears the following notice which supplements and clarifies the two previously cited ones (fol. i):

> These [chansons] were copied exactly – line for line and page for page – from a collection made by Mr. Coustelier the printer, who was to have them published. The marginal explanations are also by him; he was preparing a glossary of Old French, some volumes of which are in the possession of Mr. Lancelot who graciously lent me this collection of songs.[131]

Gauging from its contents, BnF f. Moreau 1679 appears to have been copied from a manuscript made by the Châtre de Cangé sometime between 1724 and 1733, when he owned chansonnier O, for it opens with a list of songs

'which are found in my manuscript' ('qui se trouvent dans mon MS', fol. iii). And indeed, the list of songs which follows this quotation concords exactly with those which open chansonnier O. BnF f. Moreau 1679 begins with eight notated songs on folios 8r–18v from Clairambault's chansonnier and six from the Noailles chansonnier. One of these is T's mensural reading of 'Pour conforter ma pesance' (fol. 16v) discussed in chapter 1. Interestingly, seven of these melodies are also found in BnF ffr 12614, including Thibaut de Champagne's 'Pour conforter'.[132] It seems that this musical reading, like those of chansonnier O, had attracted the attention of antiquarians for its mensural qualities. Cangé gives for the eight Clairambault tunes the concording folio numbers in Clairambault's manuscript. His foliation (in Arabic numerals) is off from its present one by seven, indicating that he looked at chansonnier X before Clairambault refoliated it and added a seven-page table at the beginning, as described above, probably in the 1730s.

To sum up, all the manuscripts just discussed, BnF ffr 12610–4, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303–6 and BnF f. Moreau 1679, of various provenances, were copied under the supervision of Sainte-Palaye and annotated by him. They were only a part of Sainte-Palaye's larger project of duplicating troubadour and trouvère chansonniers. Other items Sainte-Palaye copied are listed in table 3.1: troubadour chansonniers R and G and trouvère chansonnier a, as well as 'Aucassin et Nicolette'. A good deal of this enormous endeavour was, to be exact, accomplished by Sainte-Palaye's several scribes whose occasional errors betray their inexperience in Old French and Occitan.[133] This monumental and, like Coustelier's, unfinished project was, it is true, concerned primarily with the texts, not the melodies, of troubadour and trouvère songs. Yet it would be false to claim, as Jean Beck did a century ago, that Sainte-Palaye completely neglected music in his work.[134] For one, 'Aucassin et Nicolette' and troubadour chansonnier R's copies both have numerous empty staves, implying that the melodies were perhaps to be copied down. More importantly, to summarize the above, the music for six of chansonnier O's songs was copied twice (BnF ffr 12610 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303) as well as eight tunes from chansonnier X and six from chansonnier T (BnF f. Moreau 1679), plus three from X and four from T (BnF ffr 12614); of the 'Aucassin et Nicolette' copy's mostly empty staves, one was filled in with musical notation (BnF f. Moreau 1687, fol. 93r). These musical copies demonstrate that Sainte-Palaye's predecessors and collaborators viewed troubadour and trouvère music as worthy of study along with their texts. Of special interest to these early eighteenth-century copyists were the mensural readings of O and T, precisely because they clearly indicated duration where most other chansonnier melodies did not.

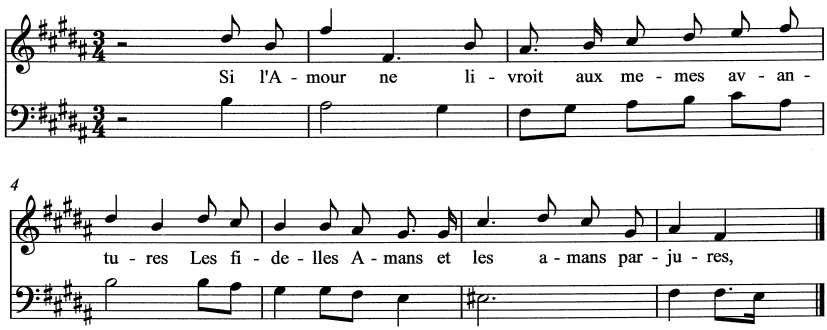

On entend dans nos plaines le Son des Chalumeaux
les Soucis et les peines S'éloignent des hameaux
mon aimable Bergere y comble mes desirs, L'agré-
=a ..... ble Fougere Sert de Trô .. ne au plaisirs.

Example 3.8: Anonymous *romance* 'On entend dans nos plaines' in *Mercure de France*, October 1754

This research, together with the measured interpretations of trouvère and troubadour songs in the publications of Ravallière, Burney and Laborde, set a foundation and direction for a more intense study of such evidence in the nineteenth century, a study which would eventually yield the early twentieth-century 'modal interpretation'.

IMAGINING MEDIEVAL MUSIC

As we have seen, most music antiquarians, despite their familiarity with medieval sources, followed Le Grand d'Aussy's *copie réduite*. From Crescimbeni and Clairambault's equalist presentations to the measured renditions of Ravallière and Laborde, they presented medieval notation with some modifications. By the time of Laborde's *Essai* in 1780, an even freer interpretation of trouvère song had developed whose starting point was the *romance*, the perfect musical vehicle for the medieval *naïf*. The eighteenth-century *romance* was strongly associated with Greek antiquity and the *antiquité françoise*, as with contemporary pastoral themes. The music of this genre was characterized by an unaccompanied strophic tune with a straightforward tonality, a narrow range, a minimum of ornaments and short, repeated phrases.[135] A good example is this anonymous tune published in the 1754 *Mercure de France*, with its thinly veiled pastoral eroticism (see example 3.8).



Example 3.9: *Romance* by Cheron de Rochesources, 'Si l'amour ne livroit', beginning: from Villandon, *Tour ténébreuse* (1705)

The *romance* differed from other contemporary historical poetic genres such as the *ode* in that it was sung. The *Encyclopédie* summarized its mode of musical performance as follows: 'no ornaments . . . a sweet, natural and pastoral melody. . . . The singing need not be piquant, only naïve. . . . To sing the *romance*, one needs only a clear voice . . . which sings simply.'[136]

A type of *romance* with medieval themes soon developed. Villandon's *Tour ténébreuse* (1705) cited earlier was not only important for its literary but also for its musical contribution which may well have influenced later composers, given the widespread popularity of the *Tour ténébreuse*. Several of its refrains are set to music by an otherwise unknown composer, Cheron de Rochesources. As precursors to the medieval-style Enlightenment *romance*, these refrains are of interest. They display the kind of musical conciseness and simplicity which would typify the mature *romance* from around 1800; all are set for unaccompanied voice, with a minimum of ornaments. One of these, 'Si l'amour ne livroit', is the refrain discussed above based on a Blondel de Nesle song (see example 3.9).[137]

A slightly later but still early example of the nascent genre, this one actually labelled *romance*, is found in Louis-César de la Baume, Duc de La Vallière's *Les infortunés amours de Gabrielle de Vergi et de Raoul de Couci* (1752) mentioned earlier. The first strophe of this verse rendition of the Châtelain de Coucy's eaten heart legend is set to music (example 3.10); its composer is not given, and it may very well have been La Vallière himself. In fact, its striking bar form (AAB) may have been modelled on the medieval songs which La Vallière would have read in the several chansonniers in his possession (including troubadour chansonnier R and trouvère manuscript W).[138]


He-las qui pou-ra ja - mais croi-re L'a-mour de Ra - oul de Cou -
qui sans_pleu-rer li - ra L'hi-stoi-re de_ Ga-bri-el - le de Ver -
8
cy Tous deux s'ai - me - rent des_ l'En - fan - ce
gi. l'a - voit mi - se sous la_ pui - san - ce
13
1.
2.
mais le sort in - juste et ja - loux
d'un bar-bare et cru el E - poux.

Example 3.10: La Vallière's *romance* 'Hélas, qui poura jamais croire?' (1752)

The greatest proponent of a *romance* with medieval content from the 1750s on was François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif (figure 3.6) in his *Choix de chansons* (1755–6) cited earlier.[139] A musician, actor and writer, Moncrif climbed his way up the social ladder by ingratiating himself to key members of the nobility, and obtained a seat in the Académie Française while still in his forties. As a writer, Moncrif specialized in works characterized by the supernatural such as fairy tales; he defended this genre as legitimate literary works which followed set conventions within a supernatural context. In his own writing, Moncrif was especially interested in the fabulous and the remote.[140]

This interest of Moncrif's extended to the Middle Ages. He created eleven poems in the style of Thibaut de Champagne, the 'Imitations des chansons du Comte de Champagne, Roi de Navarre' listed in table 3.2. The first datable source for some of these is the first edition of Moncrif's complete works (*Œeuvres mêlées*) of 1743, the year following Ravallière's edition of Thibaut's poems.[141] Ravallière may not have been the only inspiration for these 'Imitations', for it is clear that, as early as the 1720s, Moncrif had been reading Fauchet's *Recueil*.[142] All eleven Thibaut imitations listed in table 3.2 first appeared in the second 1751 edition of his collected works. He provided no music, although indicating that number 6 was to be sung 'sur un Air Languedocien' and number 9 'sur un Air Catalan'.[143] Moncrif's imitations emanated from a well-established tradition of *imitatio*, one example being Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* discussed in chapter 2. Enlightenment imitations were likewise loose adaptations of ancient works. In the case of Moncrif's eleven imitations, there are no apparent connections to individual Thibaut

Table 3.2. *Moncrif's imitations of Thibaut de Champagne's songs*

Title (from Moncrif's 1751 *Œuvres*)
(1) 'Viens m'aider, ô Dieu d'amours'
(2) 'Il est une Sophie, onc il n'en sera d'autre'
(3) 'A quinze ans, quinze ans achevés'
(4) 'Ah c'est en vain, parures empruntées'
(5) 'Non, rien n'est si beau que Thémire'
(6) 'Contre un engagement je me crus affermie'
(7) 'N'estiez-vous point cette Armide'
(8) 'Plus inconstante que l'onde & le nuage'
(9) 'C'est toi qui nous fait naître, Dieu des amours'
(10) 'Quoi! du Dieu qui m'enflamme'
(11) 'Qui la voit un jour seulement'

poems. Rather than the typically anonymous medieval addressees, he has used generic eighteenth-century names such as Sophie and Thémire; and genres used by Thibaut such as the *pastourelle* and *jeu-parti* are absent.

Moncrif made it clear that his trouvère imitations were not intended to be authentic. In the preface to the *Choix de chansons*, he likened such imitations to the tracing of a loved one's shadow on the wall to preserve that person's memory. Rather than exact reproductions of the original, his imitations were intended as remembrances of the spirit, rather than the letter, of medieval song – a song which included melody: by 1756, Moncrif had set all eleven imitations to music.[144] Numbers 6 and 9 in table 3.2 are probably based on traditional airs, Languedocian and Catalan. Like the Languedocian air discussed earlier ('Lou béou Tircis' in example 3.2) which Moncrif used for his *romance* of Alix and Alexis, these have the ring of older traditional tunes. Several of Moncrif's other Thibaut imitations borrow from music of his time, such as number 4 in table 3.2 ('sur l'air *Reviens, Iris, en faveur de tes charmes*'), as well as number 7 ('sur un air de l'opéra d'Ajax') and number 8 ('sur un menuet anglois'). Those tunes which he did not borrow, Moncrif made up himself. He even provided two melodic settings for the first one, both reproduced in example 3.11a–b. Like the *romances* of their day, these melodies are unaccompanied strophic settings displaying the characteristics of clarity and simplicity summarized above, a fitting expression of trouvère naïveté. These Thibaut imitations are joined in the *Choix de chansons* by several settings of Clément Marot poems, clearly linking them with the 'style marotique'. In a note to Marot's 'Plus



Figure 3.6: Engraved portrait of François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif in *Œuvres de Monsieur de Moncrif*, vol. 1

(a)

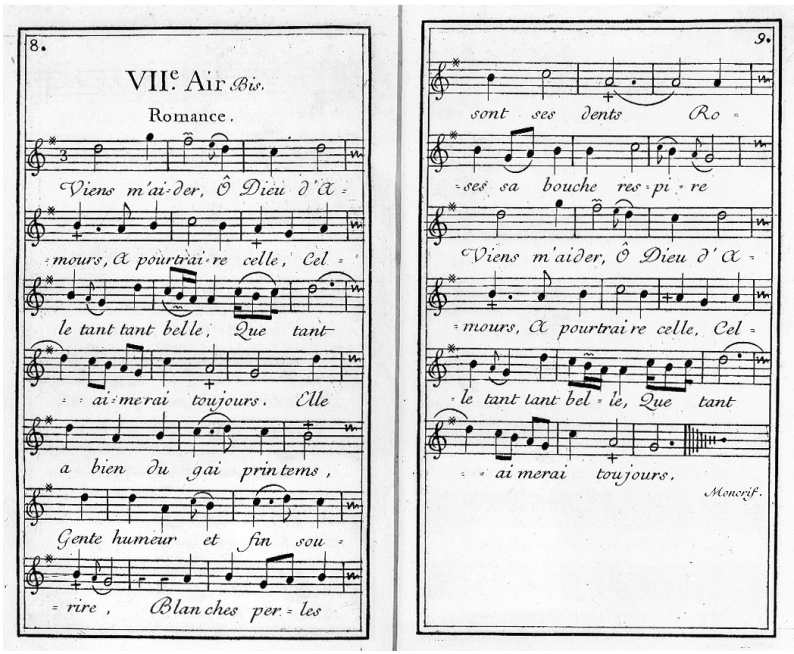


Example 3.11a: Two settings of 'Viens m'aider' from Moncrif, *Choix de chansons* (1755–6)

ne suis', Moncrif declares: 'This song is a masterpiece of naïveté, which characteristic especially distinguished the famous poet'. A little further on, Moncrif proclaims the 'naïveté' of his own first Thibaut setting, writing: 'the final strophe of this *romance* sounds like something written by Clément Marot' – although which Marot work he does not say, since it apparently did not matter.[145]

Two other medieval imitations which would enjoy a surprising longevity open Moncrif's *Choix de chansons*: 'Las! si j'avois pouvoir d'oublier' and 'Ha! belle blonde', reproduced in example 3.12a–b. 'Las! si j'avois', attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, is mostly Moncrif's own musical creation, like

(b)



Example 3.11b (*cont.*)

the eleven other imitations. But here we have a closer link to medieval sources, for the text is loosely based on the second strophe of Thibaut's 'De nouveau mestuet' (RS 808), as Théodore Gérold pointed out years ago.[146] A comparison of these two shows that Moncrif's interpretation is pure *copie réduite*. While preserving the song's basic message and some vocabulary, it offers a drastically altered work:

Strophe 2 of 'De nouveau mestuet' (RS 808)	**Moncrif's imitation of the same**
Se poisse oublier	Las! si j'avois pouvoir d'oublier
sa biaute et ses bons diz	Sa beaute, son bien dire
et son tres douz esgarder	Et son très-doux regarder
bien poisse estre garis	Finirois mon martyre
mes nen puis mon cuer oster	Mais las! Mon coeur je n'en puis oter
tant i pens de fin corage espoir	Et grand affolage, m'est d'esperer
sai fait grant folaige	Mais tel servage donne courage
mes moi covient en durer	A tout endurer . . .

(a)


2.
PREMIERE PARTIE,
Premier Air.
Las! si j'avois pouvoir d'oubli-
-er, Sa beauté, Sa beauté, Et ses
beaux dits, Et son tres doux, tres doux regar-
-der, Pourois bien ê-tre gué-ris:
Mais las! n'en puis mon cœur o-
-ter, Et grand af-fo-la-ge, m'est
des perer, Mais dans tel ser-va-ge,
3.
Amors en cou-ra-ge, a tout en du-
-rer; Et puis comment! comment
oubli-er Sa beauté, Sa beauté,
et ses beaux dits, Et son tres doux tres
doux re-gar-der; Non ne veux
ê-tre gue-ris.

(b)


4.
IIe. Air.
Ha! belle Blonde, Au corps si
gent, Perle du Monde, Que j'ai-me
tant. D'une chose ai bien grand dé-
-sir; C'est un doux baiser vous tol-
-lir; Ouy bel le Blon-de, Au
corps si gent! Per-le du Monde,
Que j'ai-me tant: Si par for-
5.
-tu-ne, Cou-rou-ce risz Cent
fois pour u-ne Le vous ren-
-drois voulon-tiers. Bel-le
Blon-de, Au corps si gent,
Per-le du Mon-de, Que
j'ai-me tant.

Example 3.12 a–b: 'Las! si j'avois' and 'Ha! belle blonde' from Moncrif, *Choix de chansons* (1755–6)

[If could forget her beauty and good words, and her very sweet look, I might be healed; but I cannot pull my heart away from her. So much do I hope out of a pure heart, that it has become a great folly; but I must endure it . . .]

[Alas, if were able to forget her beauty, her pleasant speech, and her sweet look, I might end my martyrdom. But alas! I cannot pull my heart away from her. It is great folly to have such hope, but such fealty gives one courage to endure anything . . .]

'Ha! belle blonde', which Moncrif attributes to Raoul de Soissons (example 3.12b), would at first appear to be a thoroughly Moncrif creation.[147] However, the text shows some special affinities with the first two strophes of an anonymous trouvère song 'Bele et blonde a cui je sui tous' (RS 2047).[148] The opening line in particular may have inspired Moncrif's own first line, and the imitation's remainder is spun of trouvère clichés such as 'corps gent' and 'tollir'.

Opening of RS 2047 (K, p. 356)

Bele et blonde a qui je sui touz
humblement vous pri biau cuer douz
que ma chanco*n* daigniez oir par bone amor
lors mueroie touz mes max en gra*n*t doucor
doucor si vient a vostre ami
se il vos prent pitie de lui
quo vous poist estre a sejour par vo plesir
ja puis ne li porroit nus maus venir

[Beautiful blonde to whom I belong entirely, humbly I pray you beautiful sweetheart, please listen to my song, for love's sake. In so doing, you would change my aches into sweetness; sweetness would thus come to your friend. If you had pity on him with whom you could find solace if you wished to, never would any harm come to him.]

Moncrif's Raoul de Soissons song

Ha! belle blonde au corps si gent
Perle du monde que j'aime tant!
D'une chose ai bien grand désir
C'est un doux baiser vous tollir.
Si, par fortune,
Courouceriés,
Cent fois pour une
Vous le rendrois volontiers.

[Ah! Beautiful blonde one with the pleasant body, pearl of the world whom I love so much! I only wish for one thing, and that is to tear a sweet kiss away from you. If perchance you should be upset, I would make it up to you a hundred times.]

As for the melodies for these two, they are pure Moncrif.

The source for 'Las! si j'avois', 'De nouveau m'estuet' (RS 808), would have been available to Moncrif thanks to Ravallière's edition which he had evidently consulted.[149] This was not the case for the source I have suggested (RS 2047) for 'Ha! belle blonde'.[150] Might Moncrif then have consulted a medieval chansonnier? The marquis de Paulmy had claimed that Moncrif had based his Raoul de Soissons setting on a strophe by that trouvère found in chansonnier K.[151] As it turns out, both RS 808 and RS 2047 are found

together in only two manuscripts, one of these being chansonnier K then owned by Paulmy, a book to which Moncrif might very well have had access from the 1720s on.[152] Nothing is known of K's whereabouts prior to entering Paulmy's library in the 1750s, but it easily could have already been in the family, since Paulmy's father, René-Louis, marquis d'Argenson, was an avid bibliophile whose collection was assimilated into the library of his son.[153] What's more, Paulmy's paternal uncle, Marc-Pierre, comte d'Argenson, was Moncrif's lifelong benefactor beginning in the 1720s, and had secured him key positions such as that of reader for Queen Marie Leszczynska. So close was their friendship, in fact, that Moncrif regularly visited d'Argenson after the king banished him from the royal court in 1757, when Moncrif was already seventy years of age.[154] If chansonnier K was in the d'Argenson family's possession a few decades before Paulmy owned it, then Moncrif would probably have had access to it, given his close ties to the comte d'Argenson, who furthermore favoured his nephew the marquis de Paulmy.[155] In addition to the possible model I have suggested above, 'Bele et blonde' (RS 2047), several of K's other songs attributed to Raoul or Thierry de Soissons contain several of the stock phrases used in Moncrif's 'Ha! belle blonde', such as 'gent cors' (K, pages 142–3). Further on in the manuscript (page 295) we even find in a Thierry de Soissons song the phrase 'cele qui ainz me leroit cent foiz prendre qune foiz daignast avoir' which matches the final phrase of Moncrif's verse, 'Si par fortune courrouceriez cent fois pour une vous le rendrois volontiers'.[156] Out of these various parts picked up in chansonnier K, together with the general outline of 'Bele et blonde', Moncrif could easily have created the medieval-Enlightenment pastiche that was 'Ha! belle blonde', setting it to a melody best suited to evoke medieval naïveté.

It seems to have been well worth his effort. For over a century after his death, Moncrif's 'Ha! belle blonde' and 'Las! si j'avois' were viewed as ideal representatives of medieval music: they were chosen to open Jean Monet's *Anthologie françoise* (1765) and the first volume of the *Annales poétiques* (1778);[157] as late as 1855, 'Ha! belle Blonde' was reproduced in the second volume of Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin's *Echos du temps passés*;[158] as for 'Las! si j'avois', it found its way into Johann Gottfried Herder's 1779 *Volkslieder* as a 'Sonnett aus dem 13. Jahrhundert', whence it was discovered by Johannes Brahms who set it to music in his op. 14 'Eight Songs and Romances' (1861).[159] Already by the 1760s, the *romance* had assumed a certain historical veracity as medieval (and sometimes specifically troubadour) song.[160] In his two-volume *Recueil de romances* (1767 and 1774), Charles de Lusse claimed the *romance historique* had an authentic medieval origin, for he describes it as 'imitating the old *fabliaux* whose subjects are often

authentic and whose catastrophes are often tragic'.[161] Of the *romances historiques* which open de Lusse's *Recueil*'s first volume, several are by Moncrif and one is La Vallière's *romance* on the Châtelain de Coucy's eaten heart legend;[162] later on in the *Recueil* are found all but three of Moncrif's eleven Thibaut imitations listed in table 3.2.[163] Not only were all of Moncrif's trouvère paraphrases considered historical pieces, but, for de Lusse, they were unavoidable; when discussing medieval song in the late eighteenth century, Moncrif's celebrated medieval pastiches were now *de rigueur*. Better yet, for they were perhaps closer to the original rhythm than the medieval sources, as de Lusse suggests:

> As for the musical section, I was careful to be more exact than ordinary anthologies are, by restoring the original rhythm for the majority of these ancient melodies used; and where necessity and taste obliged me to make new melodies . . . I tried as little as possible to stray from the laws imposed by the subject's character, genre and expression of its words, as can easily be seen.[164]

De Lusse's language here, in particular 'restoring the original musical rhythm', recalls issues of rhythmic interpretation in medieval music raised by antiquarians from Crescimbeni on. Likewise, his notion of following natural laws adheres to the Enlightenment spirit of systematization seen most vividly in Laborde's table of trouvère songs. In making these two ideas explicit, De Lusse here crystallizes an issue which was quickly becoming central in the reading of trouvère song, a rhythmic interpretation based on natural laws.

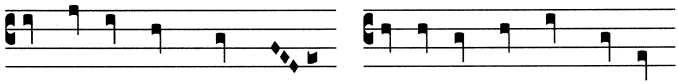
Even antiquarians such as Laborde and Burney could not avoid what we might call the musical 'style moncrif'. Laborde's four Châtelain tunes in duple metre, transposed and rhythmicized to appeal to a wide readership, displayed a liberty akin to that of a Moncrif setting. But Laborde offered even more in a 'moncrifian' vein than this. Following his three chapters on the trouvères, he included a 'Choix de chansons', some 100 musical settings of traditional and older poems; a dozen of these are pseudo-medieval and several others are, not surprisingly, by Clément Marot, the same poet highlighted in Moncrif's *Choix de chansons*.[165] Laborde's pseudo-medieval settings are something of a summa of eighteenth-century musical medievalism. As shown in table 3.3, he included contributions by Villandon, Moncrif, Tressan and Paulmy, many of which I have discussed in this chapter. A good deal were inspired by Tressan's paraphrases of 'Tristan' and 'Isaïe' and Paulmy's imitations of trouvère songs from the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*.[166] Most of the melodies in the 'Choix' were newly composed by Laborde himself, including the opener, Moncrif's 'Ha! belle blonde', showing just how significant was Moncrif's contribution to the idea of medieval

Table 3.3. *Sources of pseudo-medieval selections in Laborde's 'Choix de chansons' in the* Essai *(1780), vol. 2*

Piece in the *Essai*, vol. 2	Source
(1) 'Ha! belle blonde'	Moncrif, *Choix de chansons* (1755–6), 4
(2) 'Si jeune et tendre'	Villandon, *La tour ténébreuse* (1705), 166
(3) 'Cerise a beau m'être'	Villandon, *La tour ténébreuse* (1705), 9
(4) 'Si l'amour ne me'	Villandon, *La tour ténébreuse* (1705), 141
(5) 'Vous qui d'amour'	Tressan, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (May 1776), 83–4
(6) 'Soldats français'	Paulmy, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (Nov.–Dec. 1777), 212–15
(7) 'Je fis jadis'	Tressan, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (April 1776), 137–8
(8) 'En revenant de Nivelle'	Paulmy, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 209–12
(9) 'A Gregoire'	Paulmy, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (July 1776), 204–6
(10) 'Ah! Qu'elle fait'	Paulmy, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 187–9
(11) 'Robinet & Mariette'	Paulmy, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 190–91
(12) 'Tout ce que je vois'	Tressan, *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (April 1776), 183–4

song by this time. With this 'Choix de chansons', Laborde declared the continuity of French musical medievalism from the remembered songs of Ronsard and Marot through the trouvère imitations of Moncrif in the first half of the eighteenth century. No less of a musical antiquarian than Charles Burney also set his songs in a 'style moncrif', moulding the rhythmically deficient notation of troubadour and trouvère songs into settings in $\frac{4}{4}$ time placed overtop a figured bass. Thus appear Gaucelm Faidit's 'Fors chauza es' (see figure 3.1 discussed earlier), Paulmy's 'Soldats françois', the renowned 'Song of Roland', the Châtelain de Coucy's 'Quant li rosignol' and 'Moult m'est bele' (both copied directly from Laborde), and Thibaut de Champagne's 'Je me cuidoie partir' (from Crescimbeni with some emendations) and 'Lautrier par la matinee' (from Ravallière).[167] In the emerging musical archaeology looking for an interested dilettante public, trouvère melodies demanded to be translated – even transformed – under the able hand of the music specialist who freely mixed fact and fancy.

Enlightenment medievalism was the inspiration for two stage works with music by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry and libretti by Michel-Jean



Example 3.13: Melody for thirteenth-century *Aucassin et Nicolette* from BnF ffr 2168, fol. 70r

Sedaine, *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1779) and *Richart Cœur-de-Lion* (1784). Grétry's operas with medieval themes were seen in their day as fundamentally different from Lully's a century earlier, purified of supernatural elements and non-historic costumes, and based on the most recent research in medieval literature.[168] Sedaine wrote the first work after Sainte-Palaye's 'Aucassin et Nicolette'. As we have seen, Sainte-Palaye's edition was already a *copie réduite* of the original manuscript; Sedaine's version was an even freer adaptation of Sainte-Palaye. Although several scholars including Sainte-Palaye and Le Grand d'Aussy had seen the melodies in the single manuscript containing this work, the music to 'Aucassin et Nicolette' was not published until after Grétry composed his opera.[169] So Grétry never consulted the medieval source. This is clear from his setting of the Sainte-Palaye passage cited above, the watchman Bredau's warning song. Examples 3.13 and 3.14 compare the medieval melody with Grétry's ballade. As we can see, there is no relation between Grétry's melody for 'Pucelle avec un cœur franc' and the thirteenth-century tune for the original 'mescinete o le cuer franc'.[170]

According to Grétry, the overture of *Aucassin et Nicolette* was to throw its auditors back only a century; the music should not so much recall the Middle Ages as a nebulous antiquity, an alluring 'somewhere' back in time.[171] Indeed, the catchy rhythms and overt diatonic harmonies in example 3.14 recall melodies in the 'style moncrif' cited in this chapter, rather than anything out of the thirteenth-century *chantefable*. Like Lully, Grétry had no interest in studying medieval musical manuscripts. Melodies in a similar style, suggesting the influence of the 'style moncrif', are also found in other scenes such as the vicomte's ariette from Act I, scene 5 ('Simple et naïve'); we can even hear traces of the 'Song of Roland' in Aucassin's 'air guerrier' (Act I, scene 3).[172]

The source for Sedaine's *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* libretto was Paulmy's synopsis and paraphrase of Villandon's *Tour Ténébreuse* in the July 1776 issue of the *Bibliothèque des romans*.[173] Paulmy presented many alterations to Villandon's story, such as the dialogue-song between Blondel and Richard, a tune not found in the medieval legend, as I have mentioned in chapter 1. In her 1705 *Tour Ténébreuse*, Villandon had given Blondel's song to Richard as 'Cerise a beau m'estre sévère'. This was a drastically altered imitation of



Example 3.14: Ballade from Act II of Grétry's *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1779): 'Pucelle avec un cœur franc', opening

the third strophe of 'Lo bels dous temps mi platz' (PC 97,6) by troubadour Blacatz which she had copied from a chansonnier without musical notation in the royal library:

From 'Domna vostra beautas' (from PC 97,6 as cited by Villandon)

Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faissos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Don sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia.
Si bel trop affansia
Ja de vos non partrai
Que major en votre deman
Que sautra des beisan
Tot can de vos volria.

Blondel's song from Villandon's *Tour Ténébreuse* (1705)

Blondel:
Cerise a beau m'estre sévere,
Je resteray toujours dans son charmant lien;
Elle est pour mon amour indifférente et fière,
Mais du moins elle n'aime rien.

Richard:
Puisque de mes Rivaux elle fuit l'entretien,
J'aime mieux en souffrir des rigueurs éternelles
Que de soupirer pour ces Belles
Qui flatent de leur tendre choix
Cinq ou six Amans à la fois.[174]

[Lady, your beauty, your beautiful face, your fine, amorous eyes and your well-shaped body which has captured me, has bound me to love. Thus am I well stuck and will never leave you since I have the greatest honour to be at your sole bidding. For why should I look for kisses elsewhere when I can receive them all from you?]

[*Blondel:* Although Cerise rejects me, I will always remain in her charming snare. She is proud and indifferent to my love, but at least she does not love anyone else. *Richard:* Since she flees the company of my rivals, I prefer to suffer this constant depravation than to sigh after these beauties who flatter with their tender favours five or six lovers at a time.]

Paulmy, however, placed an altogether different poem on Blondel's lips: 'Une fièvre brûlante', which was to become one of the hits of Grétry's *Richard* (act II, scene 4). To my knowledge, no trouvère song closely matches Paulmy's creation. However, there is the possibility that the second and third strophes of the following song by Blondel de Nesle (found only in Paulmy's own chansonnier K) may have inspired him, 'Li rosignox a noncie' (RS 601):

Strophes 2 and 3 from RS 601	**Blondel's song from Paulmy, *Bibliothèque*** (1776)
. . .	*Blondel:*
Dex, car seust madame la couvine;	Une fièvre brûlante
de la doleur que j'ai et de la paine . . .	Un jour me dévoroit,
Seur toutes autres est el la souveraine,	Et de mon corps chassoit
car melz conoist de mes max la racine.	Mon ame languissante.
Ne puis sanz li recouvrer medecine,	Ma Dame approche de mon lit,
ne guerison qui me soit preus ne saine	Et loin de moi la mort s'enfuit.
	Richard:
Tant me delit en la douce senblance	Un regard de ma belle
de ses verz euz et de son cler viaire;	Fait dans mon tendre cœur
et quant recort la bele contenance	A la peine cruelle
de son gent cors, touz li cuers me*n* esclaire . . .	Succéder le bonheur.[175]
[God! If my lady knew the pact I have made with pain and sorrow. . . . She alone rules over me, for she knows best the cause of my sickness. Without her, I cannot find medicine or healing to help me recover.	[*Blondel:* A burning fever one day was devouring me and nearly chasing my soul from my body. My lady neared my bed, and death fled far from me.
How I delight in gazing at the sweetness of her green eyes and fair face! And when I think of the beauty of her fair body, my heart is filled with light.]	*Richard:* One glance from my lady changes cruel sorrow to happiness in my tender heart.]

In Grétry's capable hands, Paulmy's text became a musical symbol of medieval times. The Baron de Grimm wrote that this *romance* transported him to the Middle Ages by reminding him 'of those so sweet and touching melodies that one still finds in our southern provinces like monuments which testify that they were the cradle of our minstrels and troubadours'.[176] Once again, contemporary folk songs of Provence connected Enlightenment listeners with both the troubadours and trouvères. Music which, like Grétry's, somehow sounded like these folk songs transported its listeners to a medieval past. On the one hand, Grétry's variegated 'medieval sound' would not have existed without the antiquarian study of medieval monuments; it owed its existence to them. At the same time, for contemporary listeners, as for readers of the 'style moncrif', Grétry's re-creation went beyond what medieval manuscripts could ever provide; it improved on them. The composer would later pride himself in having deceived his audience into hearing music that was authentically medieval. He recalled the 'hundreds of times I have been asked whether I had found this song [the famous *romance*] in the original *fabliau* [actually a *chantefable*] which had inspired the topic'. He had not, of course, and in this he took special pride, that he had created a medieval music sound-alike which improved on medieval music itself.[177] Sedaine and Grétry's integration of Enlightenment medievalism attested to how well-known medieval song had become by the end of the eighteenth century.[178] Their efforts further set up a lasting association between opéra-comique and medieval works: it would soon become anachronistic commonplace to consider such medieval plays with music as 'Aucassin et Nicolette' or Adam de la Halle's 'Jeu de Robin et Marion' as the earliest opéras-comiques.

At the close of the eighteenth century, the Middle Ages had found a central place in public and scholarly musical imaginations; the troubadour playing his lute was already ubiquitous. This centrality of medieval song owed to the remarkable achievements in medieval music studies we have surveyed throughout this chapter. In particular, an unprecedented study of the sources had now made the troubadours and trouvères legitimate objects of archaeological study. But, as we have also seen, conceptions of the Middle Ages and its music, which dated at least as far back as the sixteenth century, not only persisted but also developed during the eighteenth century. As embodied in the *romance* and the paraphrases of composers from Moncrif on, medieval song was imagined according to a basic assumption of naïveté about the Middle Ages. The Enlightenment's free mixture of factual and fanciful elements in the re-creation of medieval song would persist up until the present time. Certainly by 1800, it was clear

that a healthy amount of imagination was needed whenever working out the thorny question of medieval musical rhythm. And the more seriously one wrestled with 'restoring the original musical rhythm' of the Middle Ages, as Charles de Lusse had put it, the more one needed to accept that memory and imagination were inseparable in the making of history, in Voltaire's words.

NOTES

1. Giovanni Mario de Crescimbeni, *Commentari di Gio. Mario de Crescimbeni . . . intorno alla sua Istoria della volgar Poesia*, vol. 1 (Rome: Antonio de Rossi, 1702), 283, following a citation of the passage from Fauchet's *Recueil* cited in chapter 2, p. 69 from the *Tournoiemenz Antecrit*: 'What kind of song here referred to is not the subject of my investigation; nevertheless, because the curiosity of literary people will be all the more aroused, I shall say that I believe it had to be quite simple, to not say rudimentary'.
2. See p. 111.
3. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music. From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: J. Robson & G. Robinson, 1782), vol. 2, 241–3. The 'Fors chausa es' setting is also reproduced and discussed by Robert Lug in his 'Zwischen objektiver Historizität, oraler Authentizität und postmoderner Komposition: zwölf Bemerkungen zur Seinsweise des mittelalterlichen Liedes im 20. Jahrhundert', *Studia musicologica* 31 (1989), 48–9.
4. A few twentieth-century musicologists have studied the Enlightenment contribution to troubadour and trouvère music studies. In chronological order: Théodore Gérold, 'Zum "genre troubadour" um 1780', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 126 (1911), 168–74; Georges Cucuel, 'Le Moyen Age dans les opéras-comiques', *Revue du dix-huitième siècle* 2 (1914), 56–71; Gérold, 'Le réveil'; Jacques Chailley, 'La musique médiévale vue par le XVIIIe et le XIXe siècle', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicales offerts à Paul-Marie Masson* (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1955), vol. 1, 95–103; Chailley, *40,000 Years*; Switten, *Music and Poetry*, 27–37; Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Bibliophiles'. Gérold's landmark 1911 article was apparently inspired by musical lacunæ he found in *Etudes d'histoire littéraire* (Paris: Hachette, 1907) by his Strasbourg colleague, Fernand Baldensperger, who nevertheless was aware of the need for musical study, as he so states in note 1 on page 138.
5. On antiquarianism, see Ilaria Bignamini, 'Antiquaries and Antiquarian Societies', in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Macmillan, 1996), vol. 2, 161–5, and Arnoldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', in Momigliano's *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 1–39.
6. This was the *Académie Royale* founded in 1663.
7. These are chansonniers M, N, R, S, T, X, a and Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. 1522, the latter two having been consulted by Sainte-Palaye (Levesque de La

Ravallière, *Les Poësies du Roy de Navarre, Avec des Notes & un Glossaire François; précedées de l'histoire des revolutions de la Langue Françoise, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Saint Louis; d'un Discours sur l'Ancienneté des Chansons Françoises, & de quelques autres Pièces* [Paris: Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, 1742], vol. 1, xiv–xv).

8. The definitive work on Sainte-Palaye is Lionel Gossman's now classic *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of Lacurne de Sainte Palaye* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968). Sainte-Palaye's first address dated 13 December 1743 (not 1746, as often maintained), 'Mémoire concernant la lecture des anciens Romans de Chevalerie', was published in *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, depuis l'année 1741 jusques et compris l'année 1743*, vol. 28 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1769), 447–68. An edition is provided by Keith Busby, 'An Eighteenth-Century Plea on Behalf of the Medieval Romances: La Curne de Sainte-Palaye's "Mémoire concernant la lecture des anciens romans de chevalerie"', *Studies in Medievalism* 3 (1987), 55–69. The collected 'mémoires', were first published in 1759 as Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, with several subsequent re-editions.
9. [Jean] l'Abbé Lebeuf, 'Notice sommaire de deux volumes de poesies françoises et latines conservés dans la bibliothèque des Carmes-Déchaux de Paris, avec une indication du genre de musique qui s'y trouve', in *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres depuis l'année 1744 jusques et compris l'année 1746*, vol. 34 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1770), 118–46 (quotation on p. 118). Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus, 'Premier mémoire sur Guillaume de Machaut, Poëte & Musicien dans le XIVe siècle', in *Mémoires de littérature*, vol. 34 (1770), 147–73 (quotation on p. 148), followed by a 'Second Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Machaut' on pages 174–216.
10. This manuscript, number 1830 of the Bibliothèque, was later moved to the royal library where it still is housed (BnF ffr 19152); it is inventoried in the third volume of L. Auvray and Henri Omont, eds., *Ancien Saint-Germain Français*, part three of *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, ed. Henri Omont *et al.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), 247–51. Caylus' 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux' was published in the *Mémoires de littérature* 34 (1770), 74–117.
11. [Ed. Charles Clémencet and François Clément], *Histoire littéraire de la France* (1759; rev. edn, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841), vol. 11, 37–44.
12. Voss, *Das Mittelalter*, 75–6.
13. Barbazan, *Fabliaux* (1756), vol. 2, 1. My thanks to Sean Monahan of Bowdoin College for his patient help with this edition; the contents of Barbazan's first edition differ substantially from Méon's 1808 revised edition cited below. In 1756, Barbazan cited his source as 'manuscrit du Roi 7218', now BnF ffr 837; these lines are found on fol. 163r. A diplomatic edition is provided in Willem Noomen and Nico van den Boogaard, eds., *Nouveau recueil complet des fabliaux (NRCF)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986), vol. 3, 344.

14. On Le Grand d'Aussy, see Geoffrey Wilson's excellent study, *A Medievalist in the Eighteenth Century: Le Grand d'Aussy and the 'Fabliaux ou Contes'* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975); see pp. xi–xii for a comparison with Barbazan, and 230–59 for Le Grand d'Aussy's editing policy.
15. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, vol. 1, lxxxvii–lxxxix. This crucial passage is cited in Wilson, *Medievalist*, 242, who discusses Le Grand's method in some detail on pp. 230–69.
16. Sainte-Palaye, *Les amours du bon vieux tems. On n'aime plus comme on aimoit jadis* (Paris: Duchesne, 1760), 31; his edition was first published in the *Mercure de France* in 1752 (Gossman, *Medievalism*, 260). The music to 'Aucassin et Nicolette' first appeared in the third edition of Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes françois des XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles*, edited and revised by Dominique Martin Méon (Paris: B. Warée, 1808), vol. 1, 380–418. A facsimile of the original manuscript is provided by F. W. Bourdillon, *Cest daucasī & de Nicolete* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896).
17. Wilson, *Medievalist*, 252.
18. [André-Guillaume Contant d'Orville], *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque* (Paris: Moutard, 1780), vol. 4, 8–45, entitled: 'Des Lectures que les Dames Françoises pouvoient faire au treizieme siecle'. The *Mélanges* are often attributed to the Marquis de Paulmy although he was only the owner of the library which made them possible.
19. Chapter 2, p. 81, note 30. Excerpts were published in the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* 3 (August 1775), 110–45.
20. [Marquis de Paulmy], *Bibliothèque des romans* (October 1778), vol. 1, 5; *idem* (December 1777), 210. See Martin, *La Bibliothèque*, 17.
21. See Henri Jacoubet's thorough study, *Le Comte de Tressan et les origines du genre troubadour* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1923) and his more compact work *Le genre troubadour et les origines françaises du romantisme* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929); Baldensperger, 'Le "genre troubadour"' in his *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, 110–46; and François Pupil, *Le style troubadour ou La nostalgie du bon vieux temps* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1985).
22. Sainte-Palaye, 'Mémoire . . . romans de chevalerie', *Mémoires* 28 (1769), 449–50; Caylus, 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux', *Mémoires* 34 (1770), 111–13.
23. Sainte-Palaye, *Les amours*, 2.
24. Sainte-Palaye, 'Mémoires', *Mémoires* 28 (1769), 462; Caylus, 'Mémoires', *Mémoires* 34 (1770), 116–17.
25. From the *Encyclopédie* as cited in Bonnel, 'Medieval Nostalgia', 141.
26. Guillaume (L'Abbé) Massieu, *Histoire de la poësie françoise; avec une défense de la poësie* (Paris: Prault Fils, 1739), 76–7: 'En effet, nous avons en langue vulgaire des Piéces de Vers rimés fort antérieures aux plus anciennes que les Provençaux peuvent montrer'. The section entitled 'Le Siècle de Saint Louis' is found on pp. 139–73.
27. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux* (1779), vol. 1, xxxvii and xlviii: 'd'éternelles & ennuyeuses Chansons d'amour, sans couleur, sans images, sans aucun intérêt'.

28. A good summary is found in Wilson, *Medievalist*, 12–15.
29. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Observations sur les troubadours, par l'éditeur des Fabliaux* (Paris: Eugene Onfroy, 1781), 1 and 18. See Wilson, *Medievalist*, 112–77.
30. *Histoire littéraire*, vol. 11, 44.
31. See Gossman, *Medievalism*, appendix 4, for a list of Sainte-Palaye's copies of Old Occitan chansonniers.
32. Maurice Agulhon and Noël Coulet, *Histoire de la Provence* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987), 73–83; Michel Vovelle, 'Le XVIIIe siècle provençal', in *Histoire de la Provence*, ed. Edouard Baratier (Toulouse: Privat, 1990), 343–95; Auguste Brun, *La langue française en Provence de Louis XIV au Félibrige* (1927; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972). On the Girard–Cadière affair, see Robert Kreiser's 'The Devils of Toulon: Demonic Possession and Religious Politics in Eighteenth-Century Provence', in *Church, State, and Society Under the Bourbon Kings of France*, ed. Richard Golden (Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1982), 173–221.
33. *Mercure de France* (December 1754), 203–11; (January 1755), 193; (February 1755), 175; and (March 1755), 159.
34. Here again, we find the word *naïf*: 'cet ouvrage, qui joint le piquant de la singularité aux graces naïves d'un genre tout-à-fait inconnu' (*Mercure de France* [December 1754], 210).
35. *Mercure* (December 1754), 211.
36. *Mercure* (December 1754), 203.
37. Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de Mondonville, *Daphnis et Alcimadure, pastorale languedocienne, représentée devant le Roi à Fontainebleau, le 29. Octobre, 4. Novembre 1754, et pour la premiere fois par l'Académie Royale de Musique, le Dimanche 29. Décembre de la même année* (Paris: Veuve Delormel, 1756), 83.
38. Brun, *Langue française*, 26–30.
39. The melody for both first appears in his *Choix de chansons, à commencer de celles du Comte de Champagne, Roi de Navarre, jusque & compris celles de quelques Poëtes vivans* (Paris, 1755–6). The text is first found in his *Œuvres mêlées, tant en prose qu'en vers* (Paris: Brunet, 1743), 248 and 259, where they are both labelled 'sur un Air Languedocien'.
40. 'Romance languedocienne', in *Journal de musique* (1773), musical appendix in *Journal de musique*, vol. 2 (repr. Geneva: Minkoff, n.d.), 1597; 'Chanson Provençale', in *Mercure de France* (May 1780), 51–6.
41. Daniel Heartz discusses Moncrif's Alix and Alexis *romance* in his 'The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance: Rousseau, Sedaine, and Monsigny', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15 (1981), 151–2.
42. *Almanach des muses* (1767), 31–3 and 100 (text) and unnumbered appendix after 123 (music).
43. Daniel Roche, *La France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 93.
44. Maurice Barthélemy, 'Le Comte de Caylus et la musique', *Revue belge de musicologie* 44 (1990), 6; Gossman, *Medievalism*, 21. On the *voyage*, see John Reeve, 'Grand Tour' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996), vol. 13, 297–306.

45. This is Geoffrey Wilson's convenient nickname after Le Grand d'Aussy (Wilson, *Medievalist*, chapter 5).
46. Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, *La Tour Ténébreuse et les Jours Lumineux: Contes anglois accompagnez d'historiettes & tirez d'une ancienne chronique composee par Richard, surnomme Cœur de Lion, Roy d'Angletere; avec le recit de diverses avantures de ce roy* (Paris: Veuve Claude Barbin, 1705), unnumbered preface. I have been unable to identify the first manuscript Villandon cites which may have been fictitious or is now lost; on the chansonnier, see note 174 below.
47. Cited in Andries, *Bibliothèque bleue*, 21, which is cited from Mary Elizabeth Storer, *Un épisode littéraire de la fin du XVIe siècle: la mode des contes de fées, 1685–1700* (Paris, 1928), 239.
48. Villandon, *Tour*, preface and 42–3: 'Mais je n'en conserverai pas les termes ni les narrations trop étenduës: je me croirai cependant permis d'y ajoûter quelques petites reflexions; mais en même temps j'en retrancherai diverses circonstances qui ne seroient pas du goût de notre siecle, ce n'est donc pas le Roy Richard qui parle, c'est moy.' On Villandon, see chapter 2, page 55.
49. Villandon, *Tour*, unnumbered preface. On 'Domna vostra beutas', see discussion below. On 'Se loyautez' ('Bien doit chanter'), see Yvan LePage, *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle* (Paris: Champion, 1994), 104–5; it appears that Villandon consulted one of the chansonniers KNXP.
50. Villandon, *Tour*, 141.
51. [Paulmy], 'Troisième classe. Romans historiques relatifs à l'Histoire de France', in *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 93: 'Nous n'avons pas toujours employé les expressions de ces pères de la Poésie & de la chanson Françoise, parce que nous avons voulu être entendus; mais nous avons tâché d'imiter leur naïveté & leur délicatesse, & nous nous sommes montés, autant que nous avons pu, sur leur ton.'
52. [Paulmy], 'Choix des Chansons composées par des contemporains & amis de Thibaud de Champagne, Roi de Navarre, qui se trouvent à la suite de celles de ce Prince dans un Manuscrit contenant environ cinq cens Chansons, avec leurs airs notés', in *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 209–12. I have consulted William Paden's translation in his *Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 2, 337.
53. [Paulmy], 'Roland', in *Bibliothèque des Romans* (November and December 1777), 210–15. This appears to be by Paulmy, although Henri Jacoubet has claimed that Tressan was the author (Jacoubet, *Comte de Tressan*, 258).
54. Henri Jacoubet is one of the few to have brought attention to the importance of this word in eighteenth-century medievalism (Jacoubet, *Comte de Tressan*, 118–19).
55. Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1961), vol. 5, 392 and 402.
56. J. Dubois and R. Lagane, *Dictionnaire de la langue française classique* (Paris: Eugène Belin, 1960), 333; 'Naiveté', in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionaire raisonné des*

sciences, des arts et des métiers (Berne and Lausanne: Sociétés Typographiques, 1780), vol. 22, 155–6; 'Nature' and 'Naturel', in *Encyclopédie*, vol. 22, 229–46.

57. D'Alembert, 'Explication détaillée du système des connoissances humaines', in *Encyclopédie*, vol. 1, xcviii: 'les individus imaginés à l'imitation des Etres historiques'; Voltaire, 'Imagination', in *Encyclopédie*, vol. 18 (1779), 358.
58. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Charles Porset (Bordeaux: Guy Ducros, 1970).
59. Diderot or D'Alembert, 'Discours préliminaire', in *Encyclopédie* (1781), vol. 1, xxxviii: 'le tems a détruit tous les modeles que les anciens avoient pu nous laisser en ce genre'.
60. [Paulmy], 'La Tour Ténébreuse, & les Jours Lumineux, Contes Anglois, tirés d'anciens Manuscrits, contenant la Chronique, les Fabliaux, & autres Poësies de Richard Premier, surnommé Cœur-de-Lion, Roi d'Angleterre, par Mademoiselle l'Héritier. Paris 1705, 1 volume in-12', *Bibliothèque des Romans* (July 1776), vol. 2, 163–212.
61. Barbazan, *Fabliaux*, ed. Méon (1808), vol. 3, xx.
62. Lussan, *Anecdotes de la cour de Philippe-Auguste* (Rouen: Machuel & Racine, 1782), 6 vols.
63. [Paulmy], *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (October 1778), vol. 1, 81 ff. More versions of the Châtelain's story are discussed in Jacoubet, *Comte*, 151–6.
64. François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud, *Fayel: tragédie* (Paris: Le Jay, 1770), viii–x. D'Arnaud's play was set to music by Louis-Maurice Boutet de Monvel and Nicolas Dalayrac in their opéra comique *Raoul, Sire de Créqui* (1789).
65. Massieu, *Histoire de la poësie françoise*, 133–4, citation on 140: 'Il établit même une espèce d'Academie, qu'il assembloit dans une sale de son Palais à certains jours de la semaine'.
66. [Paulmy], 'Blanche & Thibaut, Anecdote historique', in *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 134.
67. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 1, 232–3 and 19–20, respectively.
68. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 1, 42–3.
69. [Paulmy], 'Blanche & Thibaut', 134–5: '*Thibaud* avoit dans chacune de ces deux villes un palais, dont la principale pièce étoit une gande salle très-bien disposée pour la musique & les concerts. On prétend que pour exécuter les airs de ces chansons, on les écrivoit sur la muraille en grosses notes, sans doute afin qu'un nombreux orchestre put les appercevoir . . . On voit encore à Troyes cette ancienne salle; mais on n'y remarque rien qui ait rapport aux amours & aux poésies de *Thibaud*. A Provins, on montre une voûte qui sert de prison, qu'on dit avoit fait partie de l'autre salle, & on croit appercevoir sur les murs des lettres & des notes, qu'on dit être des restes des chansons de *Thibaud* & de ses confrères en Apollon.'
70. Niccolò Piccinni and François Marmontel (librettist), *Roland: tragédie lyrique en 3 actes*, ed. Gustave Lefevre (New York: Broude Brothers, 1971), 342–9.
71. See Jacoubet, *Comte de Tressan*, especially 233–315.

72. Voltaire, 'A M. le Comte de Tressan', in *Almanach des muses* (Paris: Delalain, 1777), 187.
73. Comte de Tressan, *Corps d'extraits de romans de chevalerie* (Paris: Pissot, 1782), vol. 1, xiii.
74. Cited in Gérold, 'Le réveil', 229. This made a lasting impression on Tressan's contemporaries. The anecdote is cited by several, including Laborde (*Essai*, vol. 2, 143), George Ellis in Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux or Tales, Abridged from French Manuscripts of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, trans. G. L. Way (London: J. Rodwell, 1815), 217–18, and Johann Forkel, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1801; Graz: Akademische Druck, 1967), vol. 2, 223–4.
75. Jean Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant écclésiastique* (Paris: Herissant, 1741), 259.
76. Also less accurately called *plainchant musical*.
77. Dom Caffiaux [also spelt Cassiaux], 'Histoire de la musique depuis l'antiquité jusqu'en 1754', vol. 1 (BnF ffr 22536), fol. 241v. The situation was, of course, more subtle than what Caffiaux describes. In the late seventeenth century for instance, Gabriel Nivers spoke of 'égalité entremêlée d'un peu d'inégalité' (cited in Monique Brulin, 'Le plain-chant comme acte de chant au XVIIe siècle en France', in *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Jaen Duron [Paris: Klincksieck, 1997], 43; see also her musical example on p. 50).
78. Crescimbeni, *Commentari*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1702), 283–4; see my discussion in chapter 2, pp. 60 and 84, note 62. Musicologist Friedrich Gennrich, one of the few to have discussed Crescimbeni until now, was aware of Crescimbeni's original edition, but only peripherally: he cited it correctly in 1955, but later confused it with Burney's transcription of Gaucelm Faidit's lament discussed earlier (Friedrich Gennrich, 'Ist der mittelalterliche Liedvers arhythmisch?' *Cultura neolatina* 15 [1955], 110, note 2; *idem*, 'Streifzüge durch die erweiterte Modaltheorie', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18 [1961], 126).
79. RS 1268, 407, 237, 1397, 1880, 529, 333, 1475 and 273, in that order.
80. Review of Ravallière's *Les Poësies du Roi de Navarre*, *Journal des sçavans* 128 (1742), 393; review of the same in *Journal de Trévoux ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des sciences et des arts* 44 (1744), 100: 'L'on trouve par-tout un goût sain, & une Critique judicieuse'.
81. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 1, xii–xiii: 'On avoit été jusqu'à présent dans la persuasion, que nous tenions notre Poësie des Provençaux, qu'ils avoient été les Inventeurs de nos Chansons . . . Mais on verra que c'est à la Normandie que nous sommes redevables des premiers Poëmes François, que l'on connoisse.'
82. He writes: 'Ceux qui voudront juger de l'état de la Musique de ces tems-là, pourront aussi se satisfaire, ils trouveront à la suite du Glossaire quelques Chansons notées' (vol. 1, xvii).
83. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 1, 228; the accusation is repeated in the glossary under the entry for Fauchet: 'Il ne sçavoit point de Musique' (vol. 2, 323).
84. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 1, 243: 'le beau & le véritable Plain-Chant, que l'on nomme Gregorien: les notes en étoient quarrées . . . sans mesure marquée'.
85. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 2, 303–4.

86. See opening of chapter 1.
87. Review in *Journal des sçavants*, 120; review in *Journal de Trévoux*, 119.
88. Maurus Pfaff has suggested a direct link between Montfaucon and Gerbert (Pfaff, 'Fürstabt Martin Gerbert und die Musikhistoriographie im 18. Jahrhudert', *Erbe und Auftrag* 47 [1971], 110). See also Michel Huglo, 'La musicologie au XVIIIe siècle: Gianbattista Martini et Martin Gerbert', *Revue de musicologie* 59 (1973), 106–18.
89. John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne & Son, 1776), 38–54; Crescimbeni is cited on pp. 44–7.
90. Hawkins, *History*, vol. 2, 54–70.
91. Hawkins, *History*, vol. 2, 47.
92. On Laborde, see René Pichard Du Page, 'Un financier dilettante au XVIIIe siècle, Jean-Benjamin de La Borde', *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles et de Seine-et-Oise* 28 (1926), 106–27, 191–213. Théodore Gérold first suggested that Laborde might have been in Paulmy's employ, and Jacques Chailley repeated this, although nowhere in Du Page's authoritative account is this mentioned (Gérold, 'Réveil', 227; Chailley, *40,000 Years*, 31).
93. Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780), vol. 2, 159–62.
94. Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 265, 281, 287 and 291.
95. 'Nous l'avons transposé à la clef de sol, & sur cinq lignes, pour le mettre à la portée d'un plus grand nombre de lecteurs. Nous y avons d'ailleurs ajouté la mesure ordinaire à la plupart des Eglises de France' (Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 354).
96. Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 265, 281, 287 and 291.
97. These are 'Quant li estez' (RS 1913) and 'Quant voi venir' (RS 1982) from chansonnier M; once again, the author's exact sources are not given. The edition contains two more songs which lack music ([Laborde], *Mémoires historiques sur Raoul de Coucy* [Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres, 1781], 2 vols.).
98. The preface states: 'Nous y avons ajouté la musique qui manque à vingt chansons des vingt-quatre rapportées dans cet Ouvrage [the *Essai*]' (*Mémoires*, vol. 1, unpaginated 'avertissement'). See Jacques de Visme, *Un favori des dieux: Jean-Benjamin de La Borde (1734–1794)* (Paris: Eugène Figuière, 1935), 108.
99. Michel Adanson, *Famille des plantes* (1763; repr. New York: Stechert-Hafner Service Agency, 1966), 223. See Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), chapter 5 (translated as *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* [New York: Pantheon Books, 1994]).
100. So maintains Sainte-Palaye's biographer Lionel Gossman (*Medievalism*, 329, note 8). Laborde's phrasing could equally suggest a lost chansonnier once owned by Sainte-Palaye, as Gaston Raynaud once maintained (Raynaud, 'Le chansonnier Clairambault de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 40 [1879], 50, note 1). Indeed, Laborde's 'S' column often

matches unica to chansonniers N, P and R, which Sainte-Palaye did not copy. As even a cursory check-through with extant chansonniers shows, however, Laborde's table is often unreliable.

101. 'Table alphabétique des poetes dont les ouvrages se trouvent dans mes recueils avec le premier vers de chacune de leurs pieces et une marque pour reconnoistre les MSS ou jai trouvé de leurs pieces. F signifie Fauchet, N le MS de Noailles, C le MS de Clairambault, R celuy du Roy No 7222, R [with a dash through it] celuy de la meme Bibl. Royale No 7613' (BnF ffr 12614, fol. 82r; the table runs from fol. 82r to fol. 103r. It is also found in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3306, pp. 1617–1648).
102. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 2, 218–436, with troubadours and trouvères discussed on pp. 222–302.
103. Robert Stevenson, '"The Rivals" – Hawkins, Burney and Boswell', *Musical Quarterly* 36 (1950), 71–4.
104. The recent appearance of Millot's *Histoire littéraire des Troubadours* (1774) also played a part, as Burney himself admits.
105. Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 296 and note x. In a letter to William Mason, Burney nonetheless admits 'I find in Crescimbeni much to my purpose' (Letter from Burney to Mason dated 27 May 1770, edited by Alvaro Ribeiro in *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), vol. 1, 58.
106. Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 236–40.
107. Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, unnumbered preface.
108. Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 241. See my earlier discussion of this tune in chapter 1, example 1.8.
109. Letter to William Mason dated 27 May 1770 (Ribeiro, *Letters*, vol. 1, 57).
110. Charles Burney, *An eighteenth-century musical tour in France and Italy: being Dr Charles Burney's account of his musical experiences as it appears in his published volume with which are incorporated his travel experiences according to his original intention*, ed. Percy Scholes, vol. 1 of *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 216.
111. Bernard de Montfaucon's 1739 catalogue entry read as follows: '814. Roman des guerres de la Terre-Sainte, desinit anno 1188' (Montfaucon, *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican: réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles* [Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964], 47). See also Gaston Paris, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte, histoire en vers de la troisième croisade (1190–1192) par Ambroise* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), i–vi.
112. For a facsimile, see Bannister, *Monumenti*, vol. 2, pl. 100a.
113. Burney, *Eighteenth-century musical tour*, 218.
114. Cf. Hawkins' description of neumes as 'points and other marks' in his *General History*, vol. 1, 462.
115. Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies', 33.
116. Haines, 'The Transformations of the *Manuscrit du Roi*', 33–4.
117. Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800* (Geneva: Droz, 1988), 128 and 303.

118. Jean Beck would write that Cangé 'avait ébauché le premier . . . un texte critique des chansons des Trouvères' (Jean Beck, *Le Chansonnier Cangé*, vol. 1, viii).
119. Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies'.
120. The eighteenth-century copyist was so careful as to occasionally correct himself as he copied, as seen on X, fol. 152r, for example.
121. See for example Alexander Silbiger, ed., *Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MSS Chigi Q. VIII. 205–206*, Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music 15-3 (New York: Garland, 1989), 139 and 141.
122. This tally includes only the chansonniers covered in this book.
123. 'Ces 4 vol. proviennent des collections du cabinet d'Ant. Urbain Coustelier Libr. Impr. du Régent, qui a donné l'édition trés jolie, fort soignée des *Poëtes francois*' (BnF ffr 12610, fol. p. 1).
124. 'Ce recueil tiré de différends MSS a esté fait par les soins du Sr Coustelier, Imprimeur et Libraire, qui avoit dessein de le faire imprimer, et m'a esté communiqué par Mr. Lancelot' (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3303, fol. A).
125. The more renowned Antoine-Urbain the younger died in 1763. See M. Jacquet, 'Coustelier', in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. Roman d'Amat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1961), vol. 9, col. 1091; 'Coustelier (Antoine-Urbain)', in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. J. Fr. Michaud (Paris: Desplaces & Michaud, 1854), vol. 9, 397; 'Coustelier, (Ant.-Urbain)', in *Les siècles littéraires de la France, ou Nouveau dictionnaire, historique, critique, et bibliographique de tous les Ecrivains français, morts et vivans, jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Desessarts, 1800), vol. 1, 219–20.
126. These are cited by Gossman (*Medievalism*, 228 and 303), who does not mention the 'Recueil' project as such. However, Sainte-Palaye specifically refers to it in BnF f. Moreau 1719, fol. 195.
127. Described in Gossman, *Medievalism*, 177–95. Gossman maintains that Sainte-Palaye never planned to publish the texts he copied (264).
128. This is explained in Wilson, *Medievalist*, 225–7.
129. A friend of Mabillon, Lancelot turned from the study of Hebrew and Greek to that of Old French. See 'Lancelot, (Antoine)', in *Les siècles littéraires de la France, ou Nouveau dictionnaire, historique, critique, et bibliographique de tous les Ecrivains français, morts et vivans, jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Desessarts, 1800), vol. 3, 96–8. On Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3303, see Henri Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: Plon, 1887), vol. 3, 314.
130. Henri Omont, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la collection Moreau* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1891), 142. Sainte-Palaye's biographer Lionel Gossman confirms that all the Moreau and Arsenal manuscripts were Sainte-Palaye's copies, although he wrongly assumes that they were Coustelier's collation of Sainte-Palaye's manuscripts, instead of the reverse (Gossman, *Medievalism*, 228, note 13).

131. 'Elles ont este copiees avec la derniere exactitude ligne pour ligne page pour page sur un Recueil qu'en avoit fait sur differends MSS Coustelier Imprimeur qui avoit eu dessein de les faire imprimer. Les explications qui sont aux marges sont aussi de luy; il preparoit un Glossaire du vieil francois dont il y a quelques volumes MSS in folio entre les mains de M Lancelot qui a bien voulu me communiquer ce Recueil de Chansons.'
132. BnF ffr 12614, fols. 207r–212v.
133. Barbazan comments on the nonsensical transcriptions in several instances (*Fabliaux*, ed. Méon [1808], vol. 1, iii–iv).
134. Beck, *Chansonnier Cangé*, vol. 1, viii.
135. Two studies of the early eighteenth-century *romance* are Daniel Heartz' 'The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance' and David Charlton, 'The *romance* and its Cognates: Narrative, Irony and *vraisemblance* in Early Opéra Comique', in *Die Opéra comique und ihr Einfluß auf das europäische Musiktheater im 19. Jahrhundert: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß Frankfurt 1994*, ed. Herbert Schneider and Nicole Wild (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997), 43–92. A discussion of the *romance* with special attention to England is found in Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Athlone, 1964), chapter 1.
136. 'Romance', in *Encyclopédie*, vol. 29, 345–6: 'point d'ornements . . . une mélodie douce, naturelle, champêtre . . . Il n'est pas nécessaire que le chant soit piquant, il suffit qu'il soit naïf . . . Il ne faut, pour le chant de la *romance*, qu'une voix . . . & qui chante simplement.' The *romance* and *ode* are contrasted in Franz Penzenstadler's recent *Romantische Lyrik und klassizistische Tradition: Ode und Elegie in der französischen Romantik* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2000), 249–50.
137. Three refrains are found in the 1705 edition I consulted: 'Si l'amour', 'Quand un amant' and 'Quand la jeune beauté' (Villandon, *Tour*, fold-out inserts following pages 140, 410 and 416, respectively). See also David Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 240, for another setting, 'Cerise a beau m'être sévère'.
138. Louis-César de la Baume Le Blanc, Duc de La Vallière, *Les infortunés amours de Cominge, romance* (followed by 'Les infortunés amours de Gabrielle de Vergi et de Raoul de Coucy, romance') (n.p., 1752), unnumbered pages (BnF Rés-Ye-9491).
139. On Moncrif, see especially Edward Shaw, *François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif (1687–1770)* (New York: Bookman, 1958).
140. Moncrif, 'Réflexions sur quelques Ouvrages faussement appellés Ouvrages d'imagination', in *Œuvres de Monsieur de Moncrif, lecteur de la Reine*, 2nd edn (Paris: Brunet, 1751), vol. 2, 103–18.
141. Moncrif, *Œuvres mêlées* (1743), 259–60: 'Contre un engagement' is here labelled as 'sur un Air Languedocien' although no melody is provided. David Charlton has proposed that some Thibaut imitations were first published in 1738, although the source to which he refers, *Les Constantes amours d'Alix et*

d'Alexis, romance (n.p., n.d., BnF Rés-Ye-3759), though it contains Moncrif's 'Viens m'aider', bears no date (Charlton, 'The *romance* and its Cognates', 45, note 7). Another source by the same title, but containing only the 'Alix et Alexis' *romance* and not 'Viens m'aider', is dated 1738 (BnF Rés-Ye-3758).

142. Moncrif, *Les chats* (Rotterdam: Jean Daniel Beman, 1728), 129–30, note 2, where he cites the Châtelain de Coucy's eaten heart legend.
143. Moncrif, *Œuvres de Monsieur de Moncrif* (1751), vol. 3, 285–96.
144. Moncrif, *Choix de Chansons* (1755); the music for all eleven included in a separate booklet within this book is dated 1756. The melodies also appear in the third edition of his works: Moncrif, *Œuvres de Monsieur de Moncrif* (Paris: V. Regnard, 1768), vol. 3, musical appendix, 9–23.
145. Moncrif, *Choix de chansons*, 2nd edn (1757), 20 and 86: 'le dernier couplet de cette Romance-ci semble pris dans un endroit de Clément Marot'.
146. Gérold, 'Le réveil', 233.
147. So assumes Gérold in 'Le réveil', 232.
148. The text is printed in Hans Spanke's *Ein altfranzösische Liedersammlung: Der anonyme Teil der Liederhandschriften KNPX* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), 141. The only other possible medieval borrowing I could find is a song sometimes attributed to Thibaut, RS 308, 'Bele et blonde est cele pour qui je chant'; but it is a less likely model, I think. Jacques Chailley unconvincingly suggested this song was based on the fourth strophe of 'Chanson m'estuet' (RS 1267) in his 'La musique médiévale', 99.
149. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 2, 45. We know this from an entry in the Duc de Luynes' diary on 8 March 1748 which mentions Moncrif presenting Ravallière's edition to him. De Luynes also cites a pastiche by Moncrif apparently based on Ravallière; he unfortunately does not provide it. See Norbert Dufourcq, ed., *La musique à la cour de Louis XIV et de Louis XV d'après les Mémoires de Sourches et Luynes (1681–1758)* (Paris: Picard, 1970), 123–4.
150. The closest to Moncrif's 'Ha! Bele blonde' is Ravallière's nineteenth song, Thibaut's 'Pour mal temps', whose second strophe begins 'Bonne & bele & coulorée' – but this is not a convincing model (Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 2, 42).
151. [Paulmy], 'Choix des Chansons', 166.
152. They are found there on pages 20 and 356 of chansonnier K, respectively.
153. E. J. B. Rathery, *Journal et mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits autographes de la Bibliothèque du Louvre* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1859), vol. 1, iii.
154. Shaw, *Moncrif*, chapters 11 and 15. D'Argenson's elder brother René-Louis made the specific claim that Moncrif owed to Marc-Pierre the position of Queen's reader ([René-Louis, Marquis d'Argenson], *Les loisirs d'un ministre d'état, ou Essais dans le gout de ceux de Montagne: Composés en 1736, par l'Auteur des Considérations sur le Gouvernement de France* [Amsterdam: n.p., 1787], vol. 2, 53).
155. The uncle created the position of 'commissaire général des guerres' for his nephew (Jean Labouderie, 'Voyer d'Argenson (Antoine-René de, marquis de

Paulmy)', in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ed. Jean-François Michaud (Paris: Desplaces & Michaud, 1854), vol. 44, 148.

156. What is more, in K, pp. 142–3, 'gent cors' is repeated three times in Raoul de Soissons' 'Quant je voi et fueille et flour' (RS 1978), the second citation being from the second strophe of Thierry de Soissons' 'Detresce de trop amer' (RS 767).
157. [Jean Monet], *Anthologie françoise, ou Chansons choisies depuis le treizième siècle jusqu'à présent* (Paris: Barbou, 1765), vol. 1, 1–4; *Annales poétiques, ou Almanach des muses* (Paris: Delalain, 1778), vol. 1, 3–10. The former gives the music, the latter does not.
158. Cited in Chailley, 'Musique médiévale', 98.
159. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Volkslieder, Übertragungen, Dichtungen*, ed. Ulrich Gaier, vol. 3 of *Johann Gottfried Herder Werke in zehn Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker, 1990), 269; the editor wrongly gives the source as Monet's *Anthologie françoise* (p. 1101).
160. Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret's *De l'art du théâtre* (Paris: Cailleau, 1769) as translated in Heartz, 'Romance', 157.
161. De Lusse, *Recueil de romances historiques, tendres et burlesques, tant anciennes que modernes, avec les airs notés* (n.p., 1767), vol. 1, vi: 'imitée des anciens Fabliaux, dont les sujets sont souvent réels & la catastrophe tragique'. The *romances tendres* are defined as 'Erotiques ou Anacréontiques, qui ont pour base des sujets galans'.
162. This is 'Les infortunées amours de Gabrielle de Vergi et de Raoul de Coucy' (de Lusse, *Recueil*, vol. 1, 17–26), followed by Moncrif's most celebrated *romances*, 'Les infortunes inouïes de la tant belle, honnête et renommée comtesse de Saulx' (27) and 'Les constantes et malheureuses amours d'Alix et d'Alexis' (37).
163. These are, as listed in table 3.2 above, numbers 1 (De Lusse, *Recueil*, vol. 1, 139), 2 (vol. 2, 307), 3 (vol. 2, 175), 6 (vol. 1, 150), 9 (vol. 2, 51), 10 (vol. 2, 251) and 11 (vol. 2, 237).
164. De Lusse, *Recueil*, vol. 1, viii–ix: 'Quant à la partie musicale, on a eu attention d'y mettre plus d'exactitude qu'il ne s'en trouve dans les Recueils ordinaires, en rétablissant la plûpart des anciens Airs qu'on y a employés, dans leur Rhythme original; & par-tout où la nécessité & le goût ont engagé à faire des Airs nouveaux . . . on ne s'est écarté que le moins qu'il a été possible des loix qu'ont imposé le caractère du sujet, le genre & l'expression des paroles; c'est ce qu'on pourra remarquer aisément.' This important passage is noted by Gérold, 'Zum "genre troubadour"', 170.
165. Appendix to volume 2 of Laborde's 1780 *Essai*.
166. [Tressan], 'Seconde Classe: Romans de Chevalerie: Histoire du Chevalier Tristan, fils du Roi Méliadus de Léonois', in *Bibliothèque des Romans* (April 1776), vol. 1, 53–238; [Tressan], 'Seconde Classe: Romans de Chevalerie: Isaïe-le-Triste', in *Bibliothèque des romans* (May 1776), 58–89; and [Paulmy], 'Choix des Chansons', 162–212.

167. Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 242–3, 276–7, 283–7, 296–7, 300–301. Burney also included a single fourteenth-century notated refrain in a Bodleian Library copy of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (vol. 2, 290–91); this melody is reproduced by Richard Carey, *Le restor du paon par Jean Le Court dit Brisebare* (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 210.
168. Charlton, *Grétry*, 197. On *Aucassin*, see Charlton's chapter 24.
169. Le Grand d'Aussy writes 'J'ai trouvé un manuscrit où cette musique était notée' (*Fabliaux*, vol. 2, 180).
170. The second phrase of this melody is missing for the section in question which begins 'Li gaite fu mout vailans' in the original manuscript on fol. 74v (see facsimile in Bourdillon, *Cest daucasi*).
171. André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Mémoires ou essais sur la musique* (1789, repr. New York: Da Capo, 1971) vol. 1, 336: 'L'ouverture d'Aucassin doit reculer d'un siècle ses auditeurs. Dans le courant de l'ouvrage, je n'ai pas cherché à mettre par tout les chants antiques . . . mais j'ai mis en opposition l'antique avec le moderne.'
172. Charlton gives other such instances in his *Grétry*, chapter 24.
173. [Paulmy], 'La Tour Ténébreuse', 163–212.
174. Villandon's source was fol. 109 of manuscript BnF ffr 854, troubadour chansonnier I (Alfred Jeanroy, review of L. Wiese, *Die Lieder des Blondel de Nesle*, in *Romania* 34 [1905], 329, note 1). An edition with variants of this strophe is given by Otto Soltau: 'Dompna, vostra beutatz / e las bellas faizos / e.ill beill oill amoros / e.l genz cors be taillatz / don sui empreizonatz / de vostr'amor, qe.m lia / si bel trop a fancia / ia de vos no.m partrai / qe maior honor ai / sol en vostre deman / qe s'autra.m des baisan / tot quan de vos volria' (Otto Soltau, 'Die Werke des Trobadors Blacatz', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 23 [1899], 241).

    The unexpected relationship between this original and Villandon's imitation is confirmed by both Villandon herself (*Tour Ténébreuse*, unnumbered preface and page 9) and Charles Burney who gave the original 'Domna vostra beutas' accompanied by an English translation of her French imitation as follows: 'Blondel: Your beauty, lady fair, none views without delight; but still so cold an air no passion can excite: yet this I patient see, while all are shunn'd like me, Richard: No nymph my heart can wound, if favour she divide, and smile on all around, unwilling to decide: I'd rather hatred bear, than love with others share' (Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 236–7).
175. [Paulmy], 'Tour Ténébreuse', 172–5. My suggested source is edited by LePage, *L'œuvre lyrique*, 234.
176. Cited in Charlton, *Grétry*, 233.
177. Grétry, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, 368: 'cent fois l'on m'a demandé si j'avois trouvé cet air dans le fabliau qui a procuré le sujet'.
178. See David Charlton's discussion in his *Grétry*, chapter 28.

CHAPTER 4

The science of translation

> Man weiss schon genugsam dass sie der Ausbund eines poetischen Zeitpunktes sind, der mit schoenen Geistern in einer Nation, die man fyr roh und barbarisch gehalten hatte, mit keiner geringen Anzahl derselben und von vornehmem Stamme, geschmyket war.
>
> Johann J. Bodmer, *Fablen aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger*[1]

> Les fondateurs de l'esprit moderne sont les philologues.
>
> Ernest Renan, *L'avenir de la science*[2]

In the last years of the nineteenth century a little book entitled *Huit chants héroïques de l'ancienne France* appeared, an anthology of eight songs spanning the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries whose theme was France at war. The editor of this unassuming collection was a student at the prestigious Ecole des Chartes and an up-and-coming scholar of medieval music; Pierre Aubry was soon to coin the term *musicologie*, thus becoming, strictly speaking, the first musicologist. In the preface of *Huit chants*, Aubry's guest author, philologist Gaston Paris, narrated the courage of the countless and nameless men and women who comprised 'the invincible force of . . . a nation which has been fighting and singing for ten centuries'.[3] Paris also provided a roster of known heroes including Roland, still the subject of French stage works and songs.[4] Aubry opened *Huit chants* with two medieval crusade songs, the first simply entitled 'Chant d'une fiancée' ('Song of a betrothed woman'). Its author was given as an anonymous trouvère ('trouvère inconnu') standing in for all brave French warriors and their longsuffering lovers at home. In certain respects, Aubry's edition of the 'Chant d'une fiancée' differed from Enlightenment interpretations. He cited specific chansonnier readings (M was his source for the 'Chant d'une fiancée') and claimed that modern transcriptions of these should follow 'the principles of twelfth-century music theorists'.[5] Despite such assertions, however, Aubry's translation of medieval music here strongly resembled those found in Charles Burney's century-old *History*. As seen


Sans lenteur
CHANT
PIANO
1° Chan-te - rai pour mon cou - ra - ge Que je veux ré-con-for - ter;
2° Je souf - fri-rai mon dom - ma - ge Pen-dant un an tout en - tier:
Point ne faut dans ce dom - ma - ge Mou-rir, las! ni m'af-fo - ler,
Il est en pé - le - ri - na - ge; Dieu l'en lais - se re-tour - ner!
Quand de la ter - re sau - va - ge, N'en vois pas un re-tour - ner!
Car mal - gré tout mon li - gna - ge, Sienne à ja-mais veux res - ter;

Example 4.1: 'Chant d'une fiancée,' edition of 'Chanterai pour mon courage' from Pierre Aubry, *Huit chants héroïques* (1896)

in his reading of the 'Chant d'une fiancée' (example 4.1), Aubry imposed a $\frac{4}{4}$ metre far from the ternary rhythm advocated by medieval mensural theorists, provided a piano accompaniment (which placed it firmly in C major) and tempo indications, and rendered the text in a modern translation. Also reminiscent of Burney was Aubry's commentary on this song's connection to the famous Richard the Lionhearted and the Third Crusade. This was by no means the only such translation during the nineteenth century. Despite the changes brought about by a new science of editing medieval notation, at the end of the nineteenth century, the translation of medieval music still continued to negotiate between fact and fancy.

The nineteenth-century reception of troubadour and trouvère song has been frequently surveyed, beginning in the nineteenth century itself. Such surveys have often minimized the contributions of the eighteenth century and earlier, sometimes leaving them out altogether.[6] Instead, these usually locate the earliest study of troubadour and trouvère song at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when music of the Middle Ages was supposedly rescued from oblivion. The motivation for this narrative is simple; we have already encountered it several times. At least as early as the sixteenth century, it was profitable to depict medieval song as buried away and forgotten so that it might be found again in an unexpected place, suddenly resurrected at the very moment in which the given author was writing. As I have already pointed out, this privileged the author and his present and also added an element of drama. In this chapter, I would like to revisit the familiar territory of the nineteenth century with a new emphasis, that of its continuity with previous times. As I have stressed so far, some sort of interest in troubadour and trouvère music, antiquarian or otherwise, was maintained from the Middle Ages on. In particular, the question of rhythmic interpretation of these melodies originated with the medieval chansonniers, and was well established by the eighteenth century. Troubadour and trouvère music was not discovered in the nineteenth century, it was simply revisited.

The nineteenth century nonetheless brought to this tradition new elements, the most significant of which was the vital contribution of Germanic readers and writers in turning what had been a more casual Enlightenment translation of medieval music into a science. Their interest in the troubadours and trouvères resulted from an upsurge of interest in Germanic medieval heritage. With the rise of Prussia in the late eighteenth century under Frederick II came a renewed artistic and intellectual movement in the various German states. As the French had done centuries before, German writers looked to the Middle Ages for a model of great national art, a movement which gained considerable momentum in the early nineteenth century as the German nation state slowly took shape.[7] Almost at the same time as they scrutinized their own medieval heritage, German writers turned to the French Middle Ages also. The 'humanitarian nationalism' (to borrow Carlton Hayes' expression) of Enlightenment Germany was highly tolerant of and even open to the contributions of other nations; it was 'cryptopolitical', as Frederick Beiser has put it.[8] Thus French traditions attracted almost as much attention as German ones. The most famous earliest example of this is Johann Gottfried Herder's *Volkslieder* (1778–9).[9] Herder took inspiration from other nations in his quest for a national German identity,

searching 'in literature, folk-tales, and linguistic development for the key to the nation's past and the promise of the nations' future'.[10] Herder owed a particular debt to French medievalism. Herder opened the *Volkslieder* with the passage from Montaigne we have already encountered in chapter 2.[11] The second volume of the *Volkslieder* included several Moncrif selections without the melodies. 'Die Gräfin Linda: eine Romanze' was from his celebrated *romance* of the Comtesse de Saulx, and his Thibaut paraphrase 'Las! si j'avois' was here simply titled 'Ein altfranzösisches Sonnet aus dem 13ten Jahrhundert'; it began 'Ach könnt' ich, könnte vergessen Sie!'[12] Key to Herder's collection was the idea of a popular song whose origins were hidden in the hearts of the *Volk*, an idea closely related to Tressan's view of the song of Roland's cited earlier (chapter 3, p. 108). This late eighteenth-century concept of folk song as coaxed out of obscurity into the light became a literary topos around 1800. Monuments and documents were resurrected and brought forth to public light: *ad lucem publicam*, as musical antiquarian Martin Gerbert put it.[13]

It was primarily German scholars who, in the process of editing ancient and medieval texts during this period, developed the modern critical edition. The history of the critical edition has been frequently told, but I would like briefly to revisit it here in order to bring out one concept which would become crucial to the twentieth-century interpretation of medieval music, that of empirical laws. Textual criticism ultimately owed its existence to the scientific revolution and its laws developed in fields as widely divergent as physics (Isaac Newton), music (Jean-Philippe Rameau), ethics (Immanuel Kant), and history, where Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel posited the following:

> A principle, fundamental rule or law is something universal and implicit, and as such, it has not attained complete reality, however true it may be in itself. Aims, principles and the like are present at first in our thoughts and inner intentions, or even in books, but not yet in reality itself. In other words, that which exists only *in itself* is a possibility or potentiality which has not yet emerged into existence.[14]

For Hegel, the laws governing history were only sometimes manifest, and they had to be extrapolated from incomplete evidence; though universal and pervasive, they were often 'implicit', as Hegel saw it, having 'not attained complete reality'. Thus laws, like many of the things they affected, had 'not yet emerged into existence' and could only be spoken of as a 'possibility and potentiality'. And this was essentially Friedrich Ludwig's argument some eighty years later for the 'laws' of the rhythmic modes in medieval music.

Around the same time as Hegel, another German scholar would discover hitherto unrecognized relationships between such disparate languages as Sanskrit and German, and would formulate the first laws of what would become historical and comparative linguistics, or philology. Jacob Grimm made these linguistic correspondences public in the second edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1822), and 'Grimm's laws' were later improved by the Neo-grammarian school in the later part of the century.[15] Similar laws had already been useful to late eighteenth-century editors of classical and biblical texts, but they would receive their most systematic formulation in the work of Karl Lachmann.[16] In his editions of biblical and Middle High German texts from the 1820s on, Lachmann developed a method whereby all extant sources were gathered and examined, worthless ones rejected, and corrupt readings emended. Emendations were made according to the general rule that the same reading in all manuscripts represented the original, but a reading confined to one or a group of sources was usually corrupt. Another important principle was that the most difficult reading usually pointed to the archetype, since, Lachmann assumed, later scribes tended to simplify. By drawing on all extant sources, many of which were presumed corruptions of the original, Lachmann reconstructed the lost original in a critical edition which indicated variant readings in brackets and footnotes.[17] So progressive was this new science that, at mid-century, French writer Ernest Renan could state that 'the founders of the modern spirit are philologists', cited at the beginning of this chapter.[18]

By applying Lachmannian principles or laws, then, the critical edition manifested a latent original text previously obscured by corrupt readings. More often than not, the critically edited text resembled no single extant manuscript. Lachmann's laws were latent: theirs was an inner, hidden movement which could be deduced from observable symptoms such as common errors.[19] Textual criticism was thus both the process of divining these laws and of applying them. It depended in part on a classification of the various sources into a genealogical tree (*stemma codicum*) which ranked each source in its relationship to the lost original. This notion of latency, so in keeping with the early Romantic predilection for hiddenness and mystery, was important in another way to the emerging science of textual criticism. One of the more subtle principles leading to the creation of a *stemma codicum* was that, sometimes, later copies of a given text could contain a more authentic and reliable reading if their transmission had been more safely guarded than that of earlier ones. In such cases, the later copy was closer to the original text although further removed from it in time – yet another instance of latency.[20]

The advent of the new German philological approach and the attendant science of translating medieval music in the nineteenth century did not do away with the traditional imaginative approach I have described in previous chapters.[21] A reaction to Enlightenment historiography began early on in France and Germany, when certain troubadour and trouvère legends returned in force. Ravallière's debunking of the earlier Thibaut legends was itself refuted by Paulin Paris, then working in the manuscript section of the royal library – of which he would soon become *conservateur adjoint*, a position which gave him unparalleled access to medieval documents. Paris proved the veracity of some aspects of the legend of Thibaut's love for Blanche de Castille, which he dated to around 1235 based in part on the documentation I have discussed in chapter 1. He furthermore emphasized that more than historical fact was at stake here; such legends as Thibaut's love affair were not to be taken lightly, for they were to France what Anthony and Cleopatra were to ancient Roman culture, traditional stories establishing a national identity, in his words.[22] The legend of Richard the Lionhearted's deliverance by Blondel still continued to be transmitted throughout the nineteenth century, and literary historian Prosper Tarbé even granted the story a sizeable kernel of historical truth.[23] To the many other instances where this legend would be disseminated in modern times, I will add a lesser known one: an anonymous leaf from around 1800 in the Toulouse Municipal Library which is a copy of the first two strophes of Richard's 'Ja nul pres', prefaced by the following explanation:

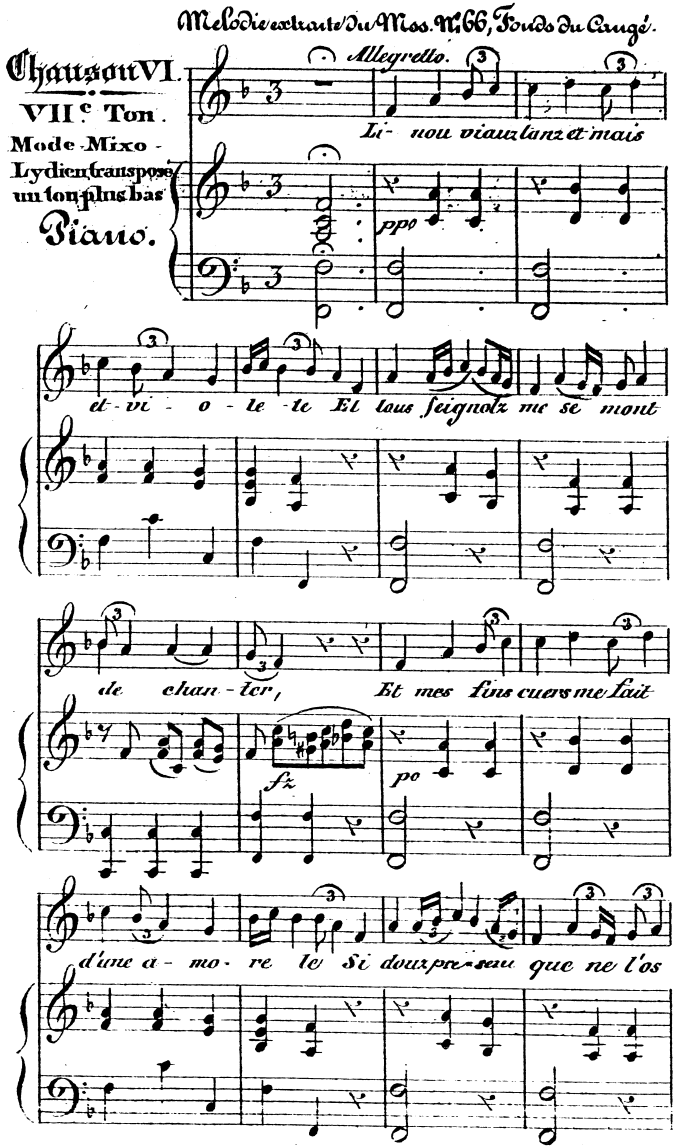
> Richard Cœur-de-Lion, King of England, imprisoned by the order of Leopold Duke of Austria, on his return from the Holy Land, was thrown in a dark prison. There, abandoned by his subjects and allies, he composed a Provençal ode addressed to them. Here are its first two strophes.[24]

As with these legends, nineteenth-century readers continued to be fascinated with a more imaginative or 'Moncrifian' approach to trouvère music such as Aubry's *Huit chants*. As early as 1801, Johann Nikolaus Forkel's music history text paid direct homage to the eighteenth century; in one case, he cited Laborde's setting of the famous 'Chanson de Roland', and in another, he set one of Ravallière's Thibaut melodies to a bass with added harmony.[25] Around the same time, Karl Leopold Röllig set the Châtelain de Coucy's 'Quant li rosignol' to a simple accompaniment because he felt that the melody hinted at common period tonality – even that the Châtelain had been acquainted with modern harmony. He imagined the trouvère improvising his harmonic accompaniment 'plucking a harp with his hand'.[26] Indulging in such interpretations were even some of the rare

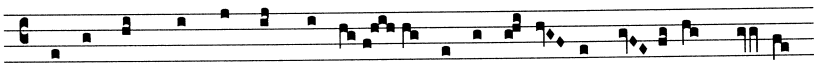
medieval music specialists, such as François-Louis Perne. Perne, whose contributions to medieval music scholarship included an unpublished study on Machaut, had transcribed twenty songs by the Châtelain de Coucy in a lengthy appendix to Francisque-Xavier Michel's *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy* (1830).[27] Michel's *Chansons* was in itself an unprecedented achievement, for it presented twenty-four poems by the Châtelain, carefully collated from nine manuscripts, and complete with a comprehensive introduction and glossary.[28] Perne edited his melodies from individual chansonniers (K, M, N, O and P), indicating which one in each song's heading. He relied on chansonnier O (example 4.3) for his setting of the Châtelain's 'Li nouviaus tens et mais et violete' (RS 985), in example 4.2. As one can see in this comparison, although he transcribed the melody down one step, Perne carefully copied the medieval reading.[29]

Perne's piano accompaniment, on the other hand, was all his own and in this he was certainly a man of his time. It was more elaborate than Charles Burney's sparse continuo accompaniment some fifty years earlier. Perne provided both right and left hand as well as dynamic markings, opening with a dramatically held chord before beginning the song, a gesture also found in his other settings. This accompaniment attested to technological improvements for the piano in the decade immediately prior: a new metal framework, felt hammers and the double escapement mechanism; by the 1830s, the piano had gained a new versatility and adorned many middle-class homes.[30] Perne's elaborate accompaniments may have caused later musicologists to sneer due to their historical inauthenticity, but they certainly showed he kept abreast of the latest musical developments. The same year, medieval literary virtuoso Francisque Michel published a collection of several medieval chronicles, one of which was the story of Blondel and Richard the Lionhearted. He included in an appendix a piano-vocal setting of a song attributed to Blondel and Richard from a fifteenth-century chronicle and entitled it 'Chanson du Roy Richard' (example 4.4). Here too was an elaborate piano accompaniment resembling that of Perne, although the musical editor was given as 'a young lady of great talent and even greater modesty'.[31] Unlike Perne's, the anonymous lady's melody was an entirely original creation, which relied on no medieval sources. The text, however, was derived from the fifteenth-century chronicle which was by a certain Jacques Gondar Clerc.[32]

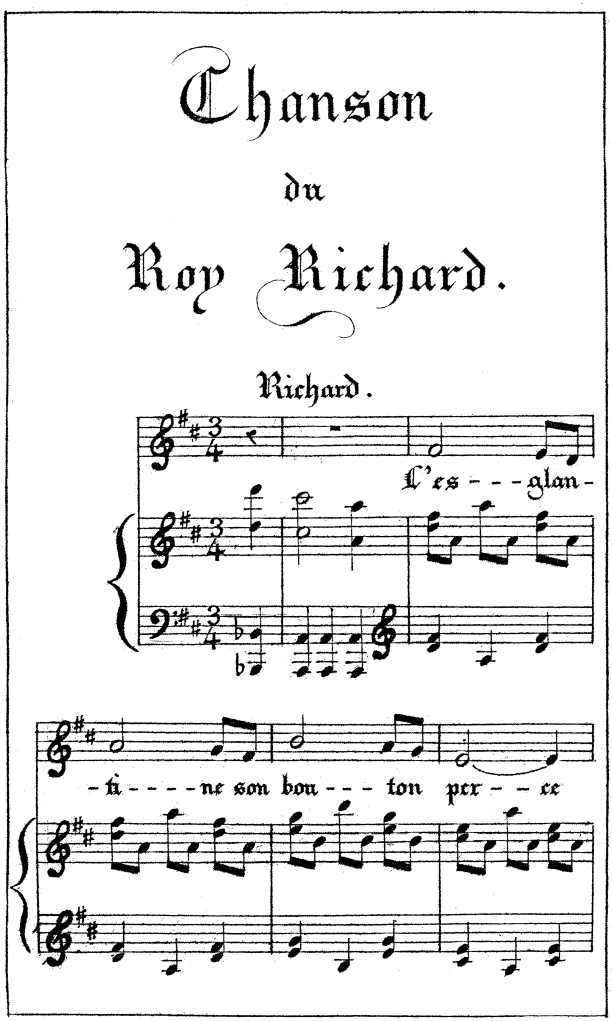
Such Moncrifian settings – by which I mean newly composed musical settings of paraphrased medieval texts – had not lost their appeal by the century's last decade, when Pierre Aubry composed the piano-vocal trouvère arrangements described at the beginning of this chapter. Aubry's


Melodie extraite du Mss. N.° 66, Fonds du Cange.
Chanson VI.
VII.e Ton.
Mode Mixo-Lydien transposé un ton plus bas
Piano.
Allegretto.
Li- nou viaux tanz et mais
ppo
d'vi - o - le - te Et taus seignolz me se mont
de chan - ter, Et mes fins cuers me fait
fz
po
d'une a - mo - re le si douz pre-seu que ne l'os

Example 4.2: Perne's setting of 'Li nouviaux temps' in Michel, *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy* (1830), appendix, p. 9



Example 4.3: Opening of Châtelain de Coucy's 'Li nouviaux temps' from chansonnier O, fol. 73v



Example 4.4: Anonymous setting of 'L'esglantine son bouton perce', attributed to Richard the Lionhearted in Francisque Michel, *Chroniques françoises* (1830)

'Chant d'une fiancée' was followed in his eight-song collection by one more trouvère crusade song, 'Ahi, amours, con dure departie' (RS 1125), attributed in some sources to Conon de Béthune. Here, Aubry renders chansonnier R's reading of this tune in a lilting $\frac{6}{8}$ rhythm reminiscent of something by Moncrif or Grétry. Giving full range to the crusader's grief, Aubry indicates 'avec mélancolie', adding *ritardandi* where needed and specifying 'plus animé' at appropriate moments; a sparse accompaniment in F major brings out the melody.[33]

By the time Aubry's *Huit chants* appeared, the music of the troubadours and trouvères had become an icon of the French Middle Ages, capturing the imagination of many a composer. This was a continuation of the *genre troubadour* which, by the early nineteenth century, had burgeoned into a vast repertoire of *romances* imagining the troubadours and trouvères, such as Beauvarlet-Charpentier's 'Le troubadour et le pélerin' (1801)[34] or Antonio Pacini's significantly entitled 'Le troubadour, Romance marotique' (example 4.5), published in the first issue of the *Journal des Troubadours* (1807).[35] These songs' ternary form, by then standard in the Marot-Moncrif derived *romance*, is accentuated by a characteristic transition from minor to major.

Giuseppe Verdi's *Il trovatore* (1853 – the 1857 French version was entitled *Le trouvère*) may have been situated in fifteenth-century Spain, but moments such as the troubadour's *romance* 'Deserto sulla terra' in the first act clearly ape the well-established French musical medievalism. When Hector Berlioz included in his *Damnation de Faust* (1846) a recollection of the timeless tale of the King of Thule in his castle by the sea, he called it a 'chanson gothique'. Its prominent tritone evoked the mystery of a distant Middle Ages in the *romance* tradition, while its lilting $\frac{6}{8}$ rhythm tapped directly into the best tradition of naïve settings. Johannes Brahms' setting of Herder's Thibaut paraphrase (1861) cited earlier (chapter 3, p. 134) was also inspired by this tradition, as was Robert Schumann's 'Blondels Lied' (1840, op. 53). Brahms' simple melody and straightforward ternary form sound like Moncrif translated into German – which is, at least textually speaking, precisely the case.

Thus that coveted and imagined past now called the Middle Ages had moved into the mainstream of music-making. Propelled out of the limited space of Renaissance literary studies or exotic Enlightenment stage compositions, imagined troubadour and trouvère song had gained wide acceptance; it had stumbled on to the open road of a popular musical imagination from which it would not depart. As such, the reception of the troubadours and trouvères is a vital episode in the broader narrative of classical music.



Example 4.5: *Romance* 'Le troubadour' by Pacini (1807)

THE FIRST MAN OF MUSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

By the 1850s, the young science of archaeology had produced a sub-discipline especially dedicated to music: musical archaeology, or *archéologie musicale*. Archaeology itself had developed out of antiquarianism, leading

directly to the work of Bernard de Montfaucon and Johann Winckelmann in the eighteenth century.[36] It was well established by the first half of the nineteenth century, with official journals such as the *Revue archéologique* (from 1844 on) and the *Annales archéologiques* (from 1846 on), which publicized the latest findings from all periods including the Middle Ages. An archaeology of music initially focused on sources for Gregorian chant. Gerbert's 1784 *Scriptores* had led the way in this endeavour with the medieval writers he had brought to light. The need for a revision of liturgical chant in France drove ecclesiastical researchers to 'discover' several important chant manuscripts around 1850. In actuality, most were previously known manuscripts, but their exhumation, so to speak, met a pressing need. As Adolphe-Napoléon Didron wrote in the 1846 issue of the *Annales archéologiques*, too much had already been written about early Gregorian chant, while none of the earliest neumes had been deciphered.[37] The year following this pronouncement, Jean-Louis-Félix Danjou discovered in Montpellier's Bibliothèque des médecins a tonary (shelfmark H 159) dating from the tenth century with melodies notated in both letter notation and neumes. This was an important discovery, since the cryptic neumes could be accurately read thanks to the parallel letter notation. In 1848, Louis Lambillotte ran across another important antiphoner in Saint Gall (shelfmark 359), which he was convinced was a copy of Saint Gregory's own; he soon published it in facsimile edition. These early discoveries would soon lead to the important work of the monks of Solesmes and the publication of their landmark *Paléographie musicale* from 1889 on.[38]

Musical archaeology impacted the study of medieval vernacular song at almost the same time, even though it was slower in developing, since this area lacked as strong a motivation as the demand for liturgical reform which impelled chant research. But an archaeology of vernacular monophony was nearly inevitable, for the idea belonged to the times; it embodied several dramatic changes in society since the French Revolution, such as secularization and republican government. Indeed, the true archaeologist was a new Revolutionary man, not the armchair dilettante of the eighteenth century. So many Enlightenment writers on the trouvères had been associated with a world belonging to the *ancien régime*, submissive royalists such as Laborde or faithful members of stuffy academies such as Ravallière and Moncrif, a world which, like Laborde's own head, had tumbled under the cruel blade of the guillotine. The trouvères survived because they were too well established as a national institution and still vital to French historical interests. One of the immediate needs after 1789 was to produce a new secularized national historiography, one to which vernacular and sometimes bawdy trouvère

songs were quite well suited. The trouvères would need therefore to be purged of corrupt, old-order influences with a seismic transformation – a transformation named archaeology. Jean-François-Joseph Fétis perhaps expressed it best in the opening words of his new *Revue musicale* in 1827: 'The need for knowledge is stirring up the whole world: civilization moves forward by giant steps and topples over whatever stands in its way'.[39] Fétis followed these words a few pages later with the announcement of his recent discovery of several manuscripts which placed the spotlight on a hitherto obscure trouvère: Adam de la Halle.

Indeed, Adam was a practical unknown. In the sixteenth century, Fauchet had allotted a brief paragraph to 'Adam le Boçu' – 'he composed a little work entitled *Le Jeu*', wrote Fauchet – nowhere near the several pages each he had lavished upon Thibaut, Gace and the Châtelain.[40] His contemporaries La Croix du Maine and Antoine Du Verdier had even less to say about the hunchbacked Adam and his little book or *œuvre*, as they put it; by comparison, Du Verdier leisurely filled four and half pages on the royal Thibaut ('the first King of Navarre').[41] During the course of the eighteenth century, Adam de la Halle plunged deeper into obscurity: Laborde had dutifully placed him first in his alphabetical list of songs, but his biography was no longer than Fauchet's;[42] as for Hawkins and Burney, they ignored him completely. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, however, the times were changing and the trouvère canon was fated to change with them.

Rather than through music or even literature, Adam's entrance into the nineteenth-century limelight came through the field of theatre. The Enlightenment stage featured increasingly realistic plays such as Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Séville* (1775); the cunning Figaro was a fresh, irreverent hero tailor-made for a burgeoning middle-class audience.[43] Following the sudden proliferation of Parisian theatres after 1791, writers became interested in the origins of theatre and the Middle Ages.[44] Le Grand d'Aussy had first stumbled across one of the three manuscripts transmitting the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, which he paraphrased in his 1781 *Fabliaux*: BnF ffr 1569, then number 7604, which had no music.[45] But only after 1800 was a musico-archaeological discovery announced which indicated that Fauchet's 'Adam le Boçu' had in fact been quite a famous musician in his time. This was chansonnier W (see table 1.2), a medieval anthology presenting both Adam's poetic and musical works, monophonic and polyphonic (sixteen rondeaux and four motets). It had belonged in the eighteenth century to the Duc de La Vallière from whose collection it had passed to the royal library in 1784. Although he knew of its existence, Le Grand d'Aussy had not published from it.[46] Royal library curator Dominique Martin

Méon, in the course of preparing a new edition of Barbazan's *Fabliaux*, had stumbled across this chansonnier, thereby discovering a new work by Adam le Boçu (he retained Fauchet's spelling), one not known to Le Grand d'Aussy, entitled the 'Congiés Adan d'Aras'.[47] He was apparently the first to publish from it. This sparked the interest of literary antiquarian Louis-Jean-Nicolas Desrochais Monmerqué, who, following his own study of W, presented Adam's previously unpublished *Jeu de Robin et Marion* in 1822.[48] Monmerqué reprinted this material in the widely disseminated *Histoire du théâtre français au moyen âge* (1839), which set out to correct previous theatre histories; its authors went straight to manuscript sources to demonstrate that French medieval theatre had been a thriving scene, with its own developments and landmark works. Adam was here named one of the 'founders of drama in France'.[49] In Adam, the French Revolution had found a medieval hero of theatrical realism. As Monmerqué saw it, his *Jeu de Robin et Marion* especially, even though addressed to an aristocratic audience, took material from popular circles: 'tender and naïve rural intrigues . . . a song whose couplets were on every lip'. Such songs, he added, could still be heard in certain villages of the Hainaut, in someone else's words.[50] By 1820, Adam was waiting in the wings to dethrone Thibaut de Champagne as the Revolution's first trouvère (figure 4.2).

So it is no coincidence that in 1827, François-Joseph Fétis, then librarian and teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, 'discovered' (his word) some important musico-archaeological monuments relating to 'a trouvère called Adam de le Hale', as he put it: chansonniers P, O, W and Le Grand d'Aussy's BnF ffr 1569 discussed earlier. This was 'an important event', wrote Fétis.[51] In truth, all of these books were already known, the first two chansonniers since at least the late seventeenth century. While Adam's songs were scattered throughout O, the first and last sources contained separate sections devoted to him. Chansonnier P contained chansons and *jeux-partis* (fols. 211–228), and W his complete works. What was new in this latter source in particular – and the reason for calling this purported discovery an 'important event' – was not so much W itself, but the polyphonic works floating in a sea of trouvère monophony. Fétis was now introducing these to a musical audience for the first time. These rondeaux and motets presented a new direction for musical antiquarianism: medieval polyphony. And the figurehead of this revolutionary study was Adam de la Halle, previously a minor trouvère and now a polyphonist.

Prior to this time, medieval polyphony had gone practically unrecognized by antiquarians. As late as 1746, Jean Lebeuf wrote that the only polyphony in the thirteenth century was note-against-note two-part plainchant, by


AIR CHANTÉ PAR ROBIN
dans *le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*
J'ai encore i tel pasté qui n'est mie de lasté que nous mangerons Marote bec à bec et
moi et vous chi me ratendez Marote chi venrai parler à vous.
TRADUCTION EN NOTATION MODERNE.
J'ai encore i tel pasté qui n'est mie de lasté
que nous mangerons marote bec à bec et moi et
vous chi me ratendez marote chi venrai parler à vous.

Example 4.6: Fétis' facsimile and translation of Adam de la Halle's 'J'ai encore' in *Revue musicale* (1827)

which he probably meant organum or conductus.[52] In 1780, Laborde's only explanation for motet tenors he found in certain chansonniers (probably M or T) was that they were the incipits of a hymn melody on which the preceding chanson (in fact the motetus or upper voice) was based.[53] Although Hawkins and Burney discussed some thirteenth-century polyphony (especially the Sumer Canon), these were a few mostly Latin pieces, usually taken from theoretical sources; concerning one such example, Burney wrote that it would 'neither please nor instruct the modern contrapuntist'.[54]

Fétis now offered readers a first look at thirteenth-century polyphony as found in original sources.[55] It was certainly crude, he conceded, but it was the missing link between the earliest organum and later polyphony. He presented a diplomatic rendition of a three-part rondeau by Adam, 'Tant con je vivrai', and a monophonic song from Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, 'J'ai encore i tel paste' from W (the latter is given in example 4.6).

Both were notated mensurally and both could be translated into modern notation, which Fétis did. The notation of 'J'ai encore i tel paste' was not the 'plodding psalmody' of other trouvère books, it was 'a rhythmic song with matching and regular phrases', he wrote with obvious pleasure – an authentic trouvère song in a Moncrifian spirit, so to speak.[56] Here for the first time, Fétis linked the mensural notation of polyphony with the music of the trouvères. His discovery proved, so he concluded, 'the superiority of Adam de la Hale's music over that of his fellow trouvères [and] the breadth of his knowledge in composing part music'.[57]

Fétis' was such a stunning revelation that, beginning only a few years later, others became interested in Adam. Auguste Bottée de Toulmon published excerpts of Adam's monophonic and polyphonic works,[58] and Arthur Dinaux opened his literary survey with Adam to whom he devoted the greatest amount of space, citing liberally from chansonnier W which he had apparently consulted.[59] Various writers tried to improve on Fétis' edition of Adam's polyphonic rondeau. The year following its publication, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink contested in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that Fétis had mistranslated the rondeau, not rendering, among other things, the *semibreves* correctly (in his view) as grace notes; he presented a revised version of the rondeau.[60] Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, in his music history, deemed Fétis' newly found rondeau important enough to have it head up nine of 'the oldest monuments in figured counterpoint'; he called the rondeau a 'chanson of Adam de la Hale, a French trouvère'.[61] Heinrich Bellermann later pointed out that Fétis had mistranslated the rondeau in duple measure for lack of knowledge of Franconian notation, as Bellermann put it. The Berlin doctor then presented a corrected version of the rondeau with three notes to the beat.[62] But even Bellermann's corrected version of Fétis was flawed, as an erudite Franco-Flemish author would point out seven years later: it properly divided the *longa* in three, but not the *brevis*. This author presented yet another corrected version of Adam's now famous rondeau.[63]

The author's name was Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker (figure 4.1), on whom one contemporary had conferred the title of true founder of musical archaeology.[64] Coussemaker, like Bottée de Toulmon, had been inspired by Fétis to study medieval music. The industrious Fétis had studied and written on all manner of historical music, from antiquity to the recent past. Coussemaker saw what Fétis had not, that the different realms of medieval music demanded their own archaeologies; that, while medieval chant sources were receiving long-overdue scientific attention, the study of polyphony was a large book – in fact several, as he would



Figure 4.1: Engraved portrait of Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker



Figure 4.2: Adam de la Halle writing his songs, as depicted in chansonnier A, fol. 133v

demonstrate – waiting to be written. Thanks to his personal wealth as a lawyer, Coussemaker published several works on what many considered at the time obscure antiquarian questions. With these, he nearly single-handedly expanded musical archaeological research outside of plainchant, although chant remained one of his interests. From the 1840s on, Coussemaker explored independently whole fields of medieval polyphony such as organum and the early and late motet, notably in his *Mémoires sur Hucbald* (1841), *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen-âge* (1852), *L'art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (1865) and a work on fourteenth-century polyphony left unfinished at his death in 1876.

Coussemaker's findings in the new field of polyphony would ultimately provide new impetus for study of trouvère songs. Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'harmonie* built on Fétis' linking of trouvère songs with polyphonic notation. Taking as his starting point the work of Gerbert on medieval music theorists, Coussemaker wrote a survey of medieval polyphony based on the study of musical monuments rather than just theorists. Central to his narrative was the idea that mensural music had arisen out of popular vernacular song which, unlike plainchant, was measured. Franco of Cologne and others had simply taken this popular rhythm as the starting point for their mensural theories. Trouvère song, therefore, was not, as earlier Enlightenment writers had maintained, a 'plodding psalm recitation', but a lively rhythmic song.[65] In part, Coussemaker's thesis rested on his own separate study of Flemish folk song, an interest originating in his own childhood and career in the Pas-de-Calais and Flanders, in particular Bruges, Douai and Lille. This affection ran deep. He kept up a life-long study of Flemish popular song and was for a time the president of the Comité Flamand de France.[66] For Coussemaker, Flemish folk song and medieval music fused perfectly in the person of Adam, who hailed from nearby Arras and had even purportedly spent some time in Douai. The choice of Adam was confirmed when Coussemaker discovered a fragment in Cambrai which contained four of his polyphonic rondeaux.[67]

For Coussemaker, Adam de la Halle marked something of a beginning point in music history as the first song-writer who was also a polyphonist; through Adam, Coussemaker linked the legendary trouvères with the little-studied polyphony of the Middle Ages. More so even than Fétis, Coussemaker defined medieval polyphony as the first significant musical achievement of the Middle Ages over against monophony, one worthy of inaugurating an archaeology of music.[68] Adam de la Halle's obscurity was appropriate: why should the Thibauts and Châtelains, polluted by centuries of legend-making, inaugurate the scientific study of medieval polyphony?

A new trouvère was needed as musical archaeology's first man. The study of polyphony, Coussemaker wrote in the opening pages of his *Histoire*, moved archaeological research from Enlightenment imagination to 'a surer path',[69] of which Adam was now to become the hero. Adam emerged from obscurity, almost *ex nihilo*, to become the one Coussemaker called 'the oldest trouvère musician who has left us musical compositions for several voices'.[70] As if divinely sent, he had come out of nowhere – Coussemaker would later state, 'there is no exact document on Adam's life, we do not know the dates of either his birth or death';[71] he even appeared timeless – Coussemaker likened him to the 'creators of Greek theatre', for his triple gift as 'poet, actor [playwright] and musician'.[72] For Coussemaker, the pre-Revolutionary studies of the trouvères belonged to the *ancien régime*; Thibaut and the Châtelain de Coucy, for example, were strangely absent from his narrative. The progressive Adam now moved to the centre of Revolutionary medieval historiography. By the end of Coussemaker's career, Adam had been raised to the status of chief trouvère, even becoming a symbol of the musical Middle Ages: the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* was performed several times before 1900, with performing editions by both Fétis (1872) and Julien Tiersot (1896), the latter commissioned for a festival given at Arras in Adam's honour.[73]

But another medieval musical monument emerged at this time at the Bibliothèque de médecine in Montpellier, one even more important than chansonnier W, the so-called Montpellier motet codex (H 196). Following Guillaume Libri's 1841 report on this manuscript, both Théodore Nisard – a priest with a scholarly interest in all medieval music, but especially chant – and Coussemaker took notice and made plans to study and publish its contents.[74] Nisard did not get around to copying the manuscript until 1876, and even then it was an incomplete copy which never led to the in-depth published study he originally envisioned.[75] In the meantime, Coussemaker had the manuscript copied ('une copie *fac-simile* . . . page pour page, ligne pour ligne'[76]) probably sometime in the late 1850s and published his study in 1865 as *L'art harmonique*. With this publication, Coussemaker boldly proclaimed the end of an era, that of Hawkins, Burney and Fétis, and named the new science of musical archaeology (*archéologie musicale*) which the Montpellier codex now made fully possible. He suggested himself as the 'Christopher Columbus of a new musical world'.[77] Coussemaker was also a first man, an Adam.

The single thesis of *L'art harmonique*, and this Coussemaker made clear from the preface onwards (p. xi), was that the trouvères composed not only monophonic songs but polyphonic works – in his words, they were

harmonistes as well as *mélodistes*. Following an unprecedented exposition of medieval polyphony, Coussemaker took the Montpellier motets as a source for trouvère music. He observed that motet voices bore a striking resemblance to certain mensurally-notated trouvère songs, such as those of Adam de la Halle or those found in *Renart le nouvel* (these last two references betrayed Coussemaker's first-hand study of chansonnier W). The tonality and notation of these songs were part of a distinctive northern French tendency which broke with traditional chant, as Coussemaker saw it. The related polyphonic compositions or motets were the product of a new generation of *musiciens harmonistes*: some composers, such as Léonin and Pérotin, whom Coussemaker called *déchanteurs* (after Anonymous IV's description of Pérotin as *optimus discantor*); some theorists, such as John of Garlandia and Franco of Cologne, whom he called *didacticiens*; and trouvères, whom he called *trouvères harmonistes* and who, outside of Adam, had up until then only been considered *mélodistes*. The Montpellier manuscript offered a whole roster of *trouvères harmonistes* upon whom Coussemaker lavished an entire chapter (part two, chapter 6); they are listed in table 4.1. Most of these, like Adam, were from the north of France and, coincidentally, specifically from cities Coussemaker knew well: Arras, Cambrai and Douai, for example (p. 191). In Coussemaker's new archaeological context, the trouvères moved from being the aristocratic naïve singers depicted in the Enlightenment to skilled polyphonic craftsmen, well-educated in the medieval trivium and quadrivium (p. 193).

In *L'art harmonique*, Coussemaker specifically made the case that the thirteen listed in table 4.1 were *trouvères-harmonistes*, arguing more by inference than direct proof, however. His most frequent and strongest point was that certain trouvère songs were also found in Montpellier motets; such was the case for Adam de la Halle and Thomas Herriers, for example. Elsewhere, he found references in motet texts to trouvères such as Gilon Ferrant. Coussemaker's weakest argument was the presence of broader resemblances (such as *pastourelle* stories or Marian themes) between songs and motets: for Jocelin de Bruges, for instance, the only link between the motet voice 'El mois de mai' and the trouvère's similarly titled *pastourelle* were the words 'notoit' and 'nouvel son'. In addition to these thirteen, there were probably several other *trouvère-harmonistes* from the Artois, Coussemaker conjectured. Several Montpellier motets were also found in chansonnier T, clearly a source from Arras and the Artois region (a poem on fol. 197 of T listed such trouvères as Robert de le Pierre and Baude de le Kakerie).[78] Coussemaker suggested that even certain *jongleurs* composed polyphony, such as the characters Copin and Bourgois listed in the motet *Entre Copin et Bourgois*

Table 4.1. *Coussemaker's list of trouvères in the Montpellier Codex*

Trouvère(s)	Evidence in Montpellier H 196
(1) Adam de la Hale	• *Dame bele* (872) / *Fi mari* (873) / *Nus n'iert* contains music from Adam's polyphonic rondeau in middle voice • *Adam se sont loe* (834) / *A dieu commant* (835) / *et super* contains music from polyphonic rondeau music in middle voice • *Mout me fu grief* (297) / *Robin m'aime* (298) / *portare* contains monophonic rondeau in middle voice • *Entre Adam et Haniket* (725) / *Chief bien seans* (726) / *aptatur* refers to Adam in the upper voice • *De ma dame* (33) / *Dieus comment* (34) / *omnes* contains music from polyphonic rondeau in middle voice
(2) Gilon Ferrant	*De jolif cuer* (326) / *Je me quidai* (327) / *et gaudebit*: upper voice mentions Gilon Ferrant
(3) Jehan de le Fontaine [de Tournai]	*Quant se depart* (356) / *Onques ne soi* (357) / *docebit*: upper voice mentions the author is from Tournai (although Jehan is not named)
(4) Moniot d'Arras	*Lonc tans ai* (165) / *in saeculum*: upper voice attributed elsewhere to Moniot (Coussemaker confused this motet with the next one)
(5) Moniot de Paris	*Li douz termines* (593) / *balaam*: upper voice attributed in monophonic sources to Moniot (RS 490, attributed to Moniot d'Arras)
(6) Prince de Morée	*Au nouviau tens que j'oi* (1040) / *Bele plesanz* (1041): upper voice attributed elsewhere to Prince de Morée (RS 231, actually *Au nouvel tens que je voi la muance*, a different poem)
(7) Thomas Herriers	*Se valours* (213) / *Bien me sui* (214) / *hic factus est*: middle voice attributed elsewhere to Thomas (RS 2125)
(8) Anonymes de Cambrai	*J'ai mis toute* (609) / *Je n'en puis* (610) / *puerorum* and *Dieus ou porrai je* (31) / *Ce sont amouretes* (32) / *omnes*: both middle voices are found in a source from Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale A 410 (RS 726)
(9) Andrieu de Douai	*L'autre jour* (628) / *Hier matinet* (629) / *ite missa est*: the upper voice is a *pastourelle* similar to the song *L'autrier quant je chevauchoie* (RS 1698a) by Andrieu who mentions Arras and Douai in the first strophe
(10) Gillebert de Berneville	*He Marotele* (716) / *En la praierie* (717) / *aptatur* and *Quant la froidor* (226) / *L'autrier chevaulchoie* (227) / *nostrum* contain pastoral references to Robin which might be linked to Gillebert's *Les un pin verdoiant* (RS 367)
(11) Jocelin de Bruges	*Quant florist la violete* (323) / *El mois* (324) / *et gaudebit*: the top voice vaguely resembles Jocelin's *Quant j'oi chanter* (RS 968), and the middle his *L'autrier pastoure seoit* (RS 1848)
(12) Jacques de Cysoing	*Li nouviau tans* (311) / *Onques ne fui* (312) / *[captivi]tatem*: the top voice is similar to Jacques' *Li nouviaus tens* (RS 1305, a different song, however)
(13) Jacques de Cambrai	Jacques' Marian songs (such as *O dame qui Deu portais*, RS 197a) are related by their topic to certain Marian motets such as *He mere Diu* (718) / *La virge Marie* (719) / *aptatur*

(866) / *Je me cuidoie* (867) / *Bele Ysabelos*. In addition to these, he listed over a dozen other trouvères whose songs could be connected to Montpellier motets, although without specifying how.[79] In all cases, Coussemaker jumped from these observations to the conclusion that the trouvères in question also composed the motets with which they were often only loosely connected. However problematic was his leap of faith in such cases, Coussemaker's view of the *trouvères-harmonistes* was a major musico-archaeological feat at the time, based as it was on his unprecedented and impressively detailed documentation. With *L'art harmonique*, he had revolutionized the trouvères; medieval polyphony was a brave new world into which they now entered to be transformed and purged of old-order influences. Coussemaker's work marked the end of scientific charlatanism and the beginning of true musical archaeology, as Jules Combarieu later put it.[80]

Like Adam, Coussemaker was something of a first man himself, as I have already suggested. A lawyer by profession, he had come out of musical obscurity to tackle the esoteric and difficult topic of medieval music. His true vocation as musical archaeologist, which had begun with Adam, would also end with the same man. Published four years before his death, Coussemaker's 1872 monograph *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle* was the culmination of his work on musical archaeology and, in some ways, on contemporary folk song as well.[81] He began it by reiterating the primary thesis of *L'art harmonique*, that Adam was both a composer of monophonic songs (*mélodiste*) and of polyphonic works (*harmoniste*), a fact which Coussemaker in his zeal stated twice in the space of a few pages. But Adam was much more than this, since his achievements summed up literary and musical medieval art: epic poetry, chanson, rondeau, motet, *jeu-parti*, *congé*, theatre. In the 'pleiade of trouvères', Adam de la Halle was in the first rank; he was a 'complete trouvère', the 'trouvère-type'.[82] Coussemaker edited most of Adam's works, poetic and musical, the latter divided up into *compositions mélodiques* and *compositions harmoniques*.[83] His theory of trouvère song as ruled by mensurality, worked out in the 1850s and 1860s, was here given full expression. All of Adam's music was presented in diplomatic form and accompanied by a modern translation. The clear mensural notation of most readings meant that Coussemaker could translate these according to the principles of mensural polyphony. By implication, these ternary rhythms of the prototypical trouvère Adam could be applied to all trouvères, for were not most of them *harmonistes* as well as *mélodistes*? Coussemaker did not take this idea so far as to attempt a translation of the non-mensural notation of such chansonniers as M according to mensural principles; probably because he thought it impossible, for he had

earlier called M's notation 'inexact and untranslatable'.[84] Rather, the clearest expression of the trouvères' double identity as *mélodistes-harmonistes* was in the works of Adam. Coussemaker's own scholarly life journey duplicated Adam's role in medieval music history; both were Flemish and both were forerunners. And Adam, the last trouvère and the first polyphonist, stood at the beginning and end of Coussemaker's publication history. The two were historical and historiographical partners.

Coussemaker's subsequent influence would prove as remarkable as his archaeological career. His work on medieval polyphony was picked up in Germany during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, due in part to the rise of German *Musikwissenschaft* in German universities. In the new German study of polyphony however, Adam moved away from the historiographic centre to be replaced by Guillaume de Machaut or even Léonin and Pérotin whose works were then being explored. The Berlin professor Heinrich Bellerman taught Gustav Jacobsthal who received the first professorship in *Musikwissenschaft* at Strasbourg in 1872. Bellerman's interest in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphony led to Jacobsthal's groundbreaking study of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mensural notation.[85] A good deal of Jacobsthal's work remained unpublished or unfinished, including a complete edition of the Montpellier motet codex, although he did manage to publish a scrupulous transcription of the manuscript's entire text.[86] The single most important development in the last decade of the nineteenth century for the study of medieval polyphony was made by literary scholar Wilhelm Meyer. While studying a manuscript in Bamberg for its textual contents, Meyer began to notice connections between organa and motets. He published these findings in 1898, outlining for the first time the various developmental stages of medieval polyphony and, along the way, bringing to public notice an hitherto obscure collection of clausulae and conductus housed in Florence (Pluteus 29.1).[87] Several others were inspired by Meyer's findings, including a young scholar, Friedrich Ludwig, who had just completed a dissertation in medieval history at Göttingen, and now turned to the esoteric field of medieval music; beginning in 1897, he travelled to various libraries across Europe, copying, like Coussemaker and Jacobsthal before him, as much medieval music as he could.[88]

PHILOLOGY, OR THE TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

A true science of translating medieval music would demand more than an archaeology and its monuments, for these require translation or transcription, what would be called a musical philology. The business of

transcribing trouvère (and to a lesser degree troubadour) song was, of course, already a century old, thanks to the work of antiquarians from Crescimbeni to Laborde. But certain Enlightenment readers had felt the need for a systematic approach to editing melodies. Charles Burney echoed Barbazan's earlier call for specific guidelines when he wrote of needing to translate for his readers the 'antique guise' of Gaucelm Faidit's tune; Charles de Lusse had proclaimed the urgent need to 'restore the original rhythm . . . of these ancient melodies'.[89]

Musical philology began with the archaeological discoveries of important chant sources made in the mid-nineteenth century, the Montpellier and Saint-Gall antiphoners discussed earlier. These prompted debates surrounding the rhythmic interpretation of the earliest surviving chant neumes. Musical philologists of chant were faced with the special difficulties of extracting exact pitches from early neumes and finding their correct rhythmic translation, since the neumes did not indicate rhythm, or so it seemed to them (the rhythmic notation in some early codices had not yet been investigated). A beginning was made with Danjou's Montpellier tonary from the tenth century which he called a musical 'Rosetta stone', given its parallel readings in unheighted neumes and letter notation.[90] Danjou and a growing number of scholars felt that this 'bilingual' manuscript showed the unbroken transmission of medieval chant, and supported the notion that clearly notated readings (at least for pitch) of later medieval square notation were latent in earlier, cryptic neumes. This was in keeping with the principle of textual criticism described earlier, where later manuscripts occasionally attested to an earlier reading.

Danjou's remarkable find stepped up the quest for chant archetypes and led to more intense research on the question of rhythmic interpretation, with advocates of strict mensuration on the one hand and those championing a free, declamatory interpretation on the other.[91] The Benedictine scholars at Solesmes were proponents of the latter view in this debate. They inaugurated a fully-fledged system of musical philology in 1889 under the banner of musical palaeography, in the first volume of their series entitled *Paléographie musicale*: facsimile reproductions of major chant codices using the latest in photographic techniques and archaeological methods. Their aim was a definitive critical edition of chant melodies. Their plan was inspired by Lachmann and his followers:

> to gather up manuscripts, to classify them by following writing style, variants and lacunae; to decipher them, to recognize in each group the best and oldest types; to choose the most authoritative readings . . . in short, to restore altered passages using all possible means.[92]

Following philologists, the Solesmes scholars classified manuscripts in genealogies of 'mother' and 'sister' languages.[93] They even uncovered a philological law of their own, that of liquescence, which stated that musical liquescent signs most often occurred when a liquid letter (l, m, n, r) was followed by a consonant in the text. In true philological form, their law was based on meticulously garnered evidence, impressively laid out in categories, and whittled down to four succinct rules.[94] As for the question of rhythmic interpretation, they developed an elaborate system of a declamatory rhythm which André Mocquereau later fully expounded in the first volume of *Le nombre musical grégorien* (1908).[95]

The project of a musical philology thus revolved around the question of how properly to interpret the rhythm of chant, as it had done for some time prior. In his 1673 treatise cited in chapter 3 (p. 108), Jumilhac had already spent considerable time explicating the different kinds of rhythm in chant. Their interpretation was subtle and took him several chapters to explain: he wrote of equal and unequal durations, the latter established by the 'incommensurable and irrational inequality' of a chant's notes or syllables. The complexity of this application was due to the equal weight required of both textual accentuation and musical duration.[96] This search for a rhythmic doctrine culminated in the discovery of the Montpellier antiphoner in 1847. Its discovery prompted a more 'scientific' approach than Jumilhac's which relied less on medieval authorities than on the direct study of manuscripts. But there was still no avoiding the differing interpretations which had plagued earlier editors of Neo-Gallican chant. By the end of the nineteenth century, in fact, there were widely varying interpretations of Gregorian rhythm amongst esteemed authorities. When Solesmes scholar André Mocquereau coined the term *philologie musicale* in 1889, it was with an eye to settling these differences and ambiguities once and for all by erecting a definitive scientific system of rhythmic interpretation. Mocquereau and his Solesmes brothers were equally the descendants of Jumilhac, however, in that their doctrine retained much of the mystery surrounding earlier interpretations. It was not so much a system of rhythmic interpretation as a philosophy, at worst a musico-literary cabala requiring the double-tome exegesis that was *Le nombre musical*. Musical philology was a mysterious science.

It is no wonder that rhythm became the *raison d'être* of a musical philology of troubadour and trouvère song. There was already a good deal of overlap between the study of chant and vernacular monophony: many writers dealt with both subjects, such as Fétis, Coussemaker, Riemann and Aubry. Since, by the mid-nineteenth century, so much of the scientific

literature on chant dealt with rhythm, it was only natural that scientific discussions of trouvère music should revolve around this issue as well. As a philology of trouvère music unofficially began to take shape in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (a philology of troubadour music would have to wait until the century's last decade), two distinct streams of rhythmic interpretation became apparent, both of which were derived from the study of chant.

The first interpretation, largely a French phenomenon, looked to the principles of mensural notation. In this view, the trouvères were learned composers rather than naïve folk poets, whose music was based on the sound principles of polyphony explained by the medieval theorists; their representative was Adam, the literate trouvère polyphonist. The mensural interpretation depended on archaeology's recent discovery of polyphonic monuments. It took as its starting point the mensural readings of trouvère song shown in table 1.7, and in particular chansonnier O whose melodies had received special attention from the late seventeenth century on, as discussed in chapter 2. More importantly, Enlightenment writers had anticipated this system from the work of Ravallière on. By the time Fétis finally linked the trouvères with mensural polyphony through the music of Adam, a full-scale scientific system was nearly complete.

Given trouvère melodies' 'Gregorian' notation (to borrow the Enlightenment phrase), both its rhythm and the laws extrapolating it would have to be considered latent, like Hegel's laws of history or the laws of critical editing – something of a mystery, like the philology of chant. Only three years after Fétis' announcement came Perne's 1830 edition of the Châtelain's songs cited earlier, the first to explicitly rely on mensural principles for interpreting trouvère song. In a prospectus for the edition published the same year in the *Revue musicale*, Perne alluded to the 'secret means' ('moyens secrets') by which he had deciphered the notation of the Châtelain's songs – means hard won over several months' labour. It was secret because the notation of the Châtelain's songs (i.e., the chansonniers cited above) 'gave no indication' on how these songs should be performed, as he put it. The notation of trouvère songs was not what it appeared to be, Perne insisted; their true interpretation was latent and, like the critical text, they would have to be extracted by 'secret means'. This secret method Perne claimed to have fallen upon in his study of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century polyphony. His 1830 prospectus kept his readers in suspense by referring them to his forthcoming publication for an explanation.[97]

In the edition published that same year, Perne explained the long-awaited solution to trouvère rhythm. Thanks only to his unique experience with

'rendering into modern notation' a good deal of medieval music could he now 'restore [*restituer*] the music of the Châtelain's songs'.[98] He viewed his interpretation as a radical departure from previous ones: 'the customary notational practice of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has until now been completely ignored', he claimed.[99] Perne's free piano interpretation discussed earlier notwithstanding, it is clear from a close comparison of examples 4.2 and 4.3 above that he was – for the first time – carefully applying principles of mensural music to a notation which featured no mensural elements. He used the ternary measure of medieval polyphony; consistently interpreted the final note of ligatures as two-thirds of a beat, applying the rules of 'propriety and perfection' as stated by Franco of Cologne; and raised and lowered pitches by a semitone, as he had observed in certain chansonniers and later medieval books. Perne had plans to publish the very next year similar editions for Thibaut de Champagne and Guillaume de Machaut; but these never appeared, for he soon fell gravely ill with a stomach tumour and died only two years after his Châtelain edition was published.[100]

Fétis and Perne's ideas were followed by Coussemaker's work from 1852 to 1872 described above. Coussemaker did not so much directly expand on Perne's ideas as much as uncover more evidence for their later application. For the musical archaeologist was cautious and, rather than attempt to translate non-mensural notation according to mensural principles, he was content patiently to study the sources which linked the 'Gregorian' notation of most trouvère chansonniers with mensural polyphony, namely, the Montpellier motet codex and chansonnier W. He never stated as much but surely knew that this evidence would soon lead to a more definitive rhythmic interpretation, and Adam as the first man would lead the way. In fact, as I have suggested above, this goal seems to underlie Coussemaker's entire work: showing that trouvère music was mensural. His edition of Adam's works was exhibit A. Coussemaker's mensural interpretation of trouvère melodies was not explicit, but then again, neither was Ravallière's in the first half of the eighteenth century. The evidence was meant to speak for itself.

We find a different view of the trouvères and troubadours underpinning the second nineteenth-century approach to their musical philology. This interpretation, derived mainly from German scholarship, maintained that the rhythm question should be confronted with the metre of the poetry rather than with the policies of mensural theorists. We might call this method 'text-based'. Its typical reading was in duple rather than triple rhythm. Important to this interpretation was the notion that troubadours

and trouvères lived in a sphere detached from the learned university environment which had produced mensural music. Instead, they were simple individuals whose music was spontaneous and free of artificial learning; in a word, they were naïve. Their music simply followed the rhythm of the text. Not surprisingly, most of this view's early advocates were specialists in poetic texts, rather than music. The trouvères and troubadours belonged to that naïve Middle Ages described in the sixteenth century by Marot whose musical embodiment was the 'style Moncrif', now mutated, nineteenth-century style, into a philological naïveté. In his collection of medieval 'romances' and *pastourelles*, philologist Karl Bartsch had this to say about the music:

> Music has an important role to play in these songs. This musicality is clear already from the generally graceful, melodically flowing form: one might say that most *pastourelles* sing themselves.

This music was apparently so evident and so simple that it was not even worth reproducing, and Bartsch gave not a single musical example in his ample anthology. The reader would just have to imagine the music, which was more than likely imbued with the *pastourelle's* 'fresh and naïve spirit', as Bartsch put it.[101]

This philological naïveté actually held an intricate system of rules for musical interpretation – with the difference that this system was not as explicit as the rules of mensural polyphony. It was even more secret than Perne's 'secret method'. Here, no medieval rules existed; instead, like the critical Lachmannian text, they would have to be extrapolated with the help of a modern study of troubadour and trouvère poetry. Like the rules of philology and textual criticism, the text-based system was latent and would have to be coaxed out by a great effort of systematic study of text and music. In this view, Perne had been right to believe that the key to unlocking the rhythm of trouvère music was a secret, except he had taken the easy way out and relied on the straightforward rules of mensuralists. The elucidation of troubadour and trouvère rhythm would be a far more difficult task which would call for an intense study of their texts: a true musical philology.

That this text-based, Lachmannian approach came from Germany is no surprise. Coussemaker's *archéologie musicale* was in the main a study of medieval polyphony; the French endeavour of musical philology up to the end of the century would stay clear of vernacular traditions, preferring instead the field of chant; and the efforts of Perne and others just cited still remained on the fringe of new scientific developments. Germany, on

the other hand, the founder of the critical method, had a well-established tradition in the scientific study of its medieval poets, the Minnesinger. Beginning with Karl Lachmann's edition of Walther von der Vogelweide in the 1820s, medieval German texts received plenty of attention, with critical editions of most major works appearing throughout the nineteenth century, from the *Nibelungenlied* to Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parsifal*. From the very start, Lachmann had been obsessed with patterns of accentuation in Middle High German verse, noting the recurrence of four accents (*Vier Hebungen*): 'x x 'x x. His *Viervierteltakt* ($\frac{4}{4}$ bar) theory was expanded by several, most notably Eduard Sievers in his landmark *Altgermanische Metrik* (1893). By the end of the century, Lachmann and his followers had founded, as Sievers put it, 'the first scientifically founded theory of Old German verse', one which was essentially an interpretation in quadruple time.[102]

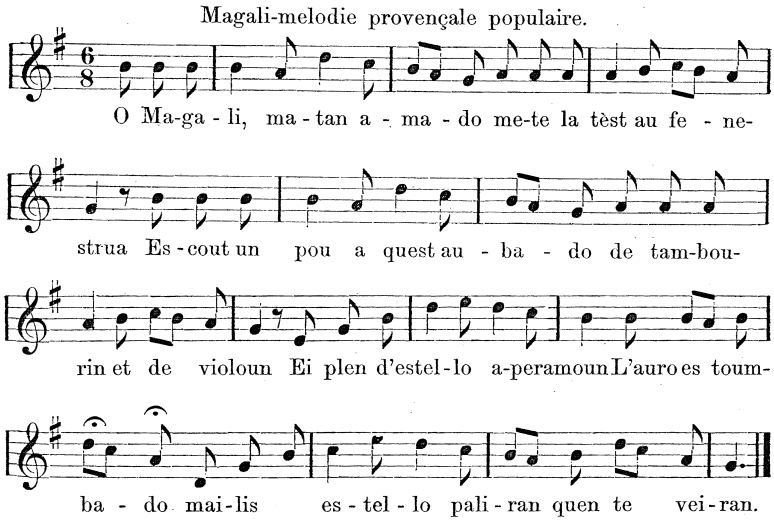
A similar trend can be observed in the German musical study of Minnesang from about the same time, despite the pessimism of a few such as Gustav Jacobsthal who claimed that it was impossible to interpret the rhythm of German medieval melodies with any confidence.[103] Generally, transcriptions of medieval Germanic repertoires were mostly in $\frac{4}{4}$ time following the accent of Germanic verse. Writers emphasized just how natural this interpretation was: the music simply followed the rhythm of the text. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen was a philologist who had produced editions of German medieval texts including the *Nibelungenlied*. In an expansive work on Minnesang which he published in 1838, von der Hagen included a section devoted to the music. As far as he was concerned, there was no question that regular rhythmic patterns in the music could be extrapolated from the regular accentuation of Middle High German; here as in Greek tragedy, music and text were intertwined, he stated. The few transcriptions in his volume, made by a certain E. Fischer, experimented with mixed metres, but stuck for the most part to a $\frac{4}{4}$ metre best suited to the text.[104] In 1854, Rochus von Liliencron also insisted that Minnesinger melodies followed the regular alternation of German accentual verse, yielding the following pattern: x' x x' x. This was because German monophonic song (like the songs of the troubadours, he added parenthetically) was not associated with the mensural doctrine of polyphony, or *Kunstmusik*.[105]

Some German scholars such as Kiesewetter extended these musical studies to medieval French song. As early as 1802, Karl Leopold Röllig had transcribed one of Laborde's Châtelain tunes cited earlier in $\frac{4}{4}$ time, following Laborde's edition.[106] In a substantial 1841 study of the lai, Ferdinand Wolf included in an appendix facsimile reproductions from chansonnier T and several Prose Tristan melodies from the Vienna manuscript (see tables 1.2

and 1.5). These were transcribed by a certain A. J. Schmid in $\frac{4}{4}$ time, with the sole explanation that the rhythmic interpretation of these melodies was very difficult since the notation was 'defective and unclear'; besides, readers would be more receptive to a modern interpretation than the original notation, Schmid added.[107] Another writer, a Leipzig scholar barely in his thirties, Hugo Riemann, also looked at French medieval music. From Karl Lachmann and Eduard Sievers' work in particular, Riemann assumed the predominance of quadruple metre (*viertheilige Takt*) in all medieval music prior to 1300, including that of the troubadours and trouvères. In opposition to Fétis, Riemann placed Adam de la Halle in a separate period with Guillaume de Machaut, that of the beginning of mensuration; this was also August Wilhelm Ambros' view from around the same time. Adam was indeed the prototype, but not of a trouvère. These early revisions of Riemann's would soon lead to the ground-breaking system discussed below.[108]

In the mostly German duple-time interpretation, troubadours and trouvères were often envisioned as folk singers rather than learned contrapuntists. Their musical art probably resembled living folk traditions, an assumption clearly indebted to the long tradition from Montaigne to Herder I have already described. Riemann spoke of the popular (*volksmässig*) character of troubadour and Minnesinger songs, since their composers did not understand mensuration;[109] Ambros declared that the Châtelain de Coucy was no mensuralist but a singer whose music was an 'improvised song';[110] and yet another writer called the ideas in troubadour and trouvère songs 'simple and naïve, ones which [current] popular song has carefully preserved'.[111] Others hoped that the living traditions of the south of France especially might yield something of the original music of the troubadours, a comparison which went back to Montaigne's *villanelles* from Gascogne or the Enlightenment 'Airs languedoçiens'. Just as Monmerqué had heard echoes of Adam's *Jeu* in folk songs of the Hainaut, Ambros, to illustrate the popular, dance-like melodies of the troubadours, provided the contemporary folk song 'sung nowadays in Provence' (see example 4.7).[112]

The German historian was here borrowing a tune from Frédéric Mistral's landmark modern Occitan work *Mirèio* (1859), in which the melody was transcribed by François-Marie-César Seguin with the title 'Magali: popular Provençal melody'.[113] Mistral himself later recounted how around 1855, he had heard a common worker named Jean Roussière singing this melody (which was likely only a few decades old, he surmised), and in this magic moment, Mistral was inspired to compose what would become the most important literary work in the Félibrige movement of Occitan revival, a


Magali-melodie provençale populaire.
O Ma-ga - li, ma - tan a - ma - do me-te la tèst au fe - ne-
strua Es - cout un pou a quest au - ba - do de tam-bou-
rin et de violoun Ei plen d'estel - lo a-peramoun L'auro es toum-
ba - do mai - lis es - tel - lo pali - ran quen te vei - ran.

Example 4.7: 'O Magali', nineteenth-century folk song adapted by Frédéric Mistral

group of poets from Provence who revived Occitan (then called Provençal) language and culture in the late nineteenth century:

> During the period when I was thinking of rhyming a song of popular mould on the rudimentary and Provençal theme of *Magali*, I heard one of my father's workers sing a Provençal song on this air which I did not know and which sounded quite lovely, and I rhymed *Magali* following its rhythm. . . . This song and its air I had only heard from the mouth of this labourer whom I have mentioned, and I am convinced that he was the *last* transmitter of this song whose subject was the nightingale's arrival. It was thus thanks to Providence who protects poets ('Deus, ecce Deus!') that the air and rhythm of *Magali* were revealed to me in this psychological moment.[114]

The view of the troubadours and trouvères as folk singers did not always come from a specifically German philological point of view nor did it automatically result in duple-metre interpretations. For Frenchman Julien Tiersot, for example, these were popular songs since 'the troubadours and trouvères, instinctive singers, composed freely and without rules, having no regard for theories taught in the silence of cloisters'. The original rhythms of these tunes needed to be coaxed out of the 'imperfect and powerless' notation of most chansonniers by following the rhythm of the poetry. Most of Tiersot's interpretations were in triple time – arguing from the text-based point of view, he arrived at the mensural approach's conclusions.[115] Another

writer heard in trouvère songs reminiscences of certain folk songs, specifically, Gypsy songs from his native Romania.[116]

In his music history, Fétis too insisted on the folk nature of troubadour melodies in particular, taking this one step further back and east, so to speak, by declaring that 'the songs of the troubadours and trouvères . . . were inspired by those of the Arabs'. The troubadours, illiterate as they were, had but remembered Oriental songs which they adjusted to new words, he claimed. Fétis wrote: 'As with the Arabs, the same phrases are often repeated in troubadour songs; as with the Arabs, these same phrases are embroidered with ornaments such as appoggaturas, *gruppi* and trills'.[117] Never mind that such things might equally be said of a Beethoven piano sonata or a Bach cello suite. It mattered only to Fétis that he could link the music of the troubadours and trouvères not just with any folk tradition – the Languedoc not being distant enough – but with a far more removed place: the mystical Orient which had fascinated writers such as Montesquieu in his *Lettre persanes* (1721). In fact, for the specific theory of the Arabic influence on the troubadours Fétis was indebted to several important writers which included Pierre-Daniel Huet and Guillaume Massieu, contemporaries of Montesquieu (although Fétis typically did not give credit).[118] Huet, for example, maintained that the origins of medieval literature were to be found in that of the Orientals, by which he meant 'Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Indians and Syrians'.[119] Thanks to Fétis, early Enlightenment Orientalism had made a comeback, and this would certainly not be the last time that Orientalism and folk music would be conjured up in imagining troubadour music.

Paradoxically, just around the time (the late 1800s) when a philology of medieval vernacular monophony seemed to be taking shape, it came to something of a dead-end for lack of a unifying, systematic theory. When Mocquereau laid the foundations for the new *philologie musicale* in plainchant, it was a scientific system based on the painstaking study of sources, a system which, once formulated, could be applied to the entire repertoire. Such a system was lacking for troubadour and trouvère songs: Fétis and Coussemaker had been too cautious, and Perne, not explicit enough; as for the Germans, they had not taken enough interest in French medieval music. And to a certain degree, many writers viewed Perne and Coussemaker's theories as suspect. Thus, despite the continuing interest in the nineteenth century, it seemed that the study of the music of the troubadours and trouvères was not to become a science after all. But then, around 1890, the science of translating troubadour and trouvère melodies came under renewed scrutiny.

THE POLITICS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

What took place in the 1890s can be in great part explained as an aftermath of Germany's victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War.[120] Before as after the war, German growth prompted French exasperation. Prussia's policy of expansion under Otto von Bismarck in the Danish and Austro-Prussian Wars of the 1860s ultimately antagonized France into declaring war on Prussia in July of 1870. Irrecuperable French defeats in August of that year culminated in the decisive defeat at Sedan in September and the final siege of Paris which lasted until January 1871. When France signed its defeat at the Peace of Frankfurt in May 1871, it was clear that Germany had won 'by superior organization, superior military education, and . . . superior manpower'.[121] The terms of surrender included the relinquishing of the city of Strasbourg to Germany. The subsequent founding of a premier research university there, the *Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität*, expressed Germany's political and intellectual dominance in the region. This became the subject of great and vocal French resentment in the period immediately following the war. French scholars routinely complained that Germany, in academe as in war, had slowly but surely upstaged France in the course of the nineteenth century. Historian Ferdinand Lot bemoaned a failing French university in the face of the 'ever increasing tide of . . . [German] volumes, brochures, theses, etc'.[122]

From the perspective of a later writer such as Friedrich Ludwig, the 1890s was a watershed decade in the study of medieval music, as indeed it was.[123] Following their inauguratory volume in 1889, Solesmes published important chant codices in the *Paléographie musicale* series, by which they hoped to demonstrate – through hundreds of pages and detailed work – the continuity of medieval chant, which in turn supported their goal of a critical edition of Mass chants.[124] Solesmes' Romantic enterprise of a multi-volume photo-facsimile edition of chant monuments was imitated by the *Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society* (1890–) and the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* (1892–). Single-volume but no less ambitious facsimile editions of important codices for trouvère (1892) and Minnesang (1896) repertoires followed.[125] Jacobsthal countered the Solesmes effort with his detailed 1897 study of the mutability and discontinuity of chant throughout the Middle Ages.[126] This was accompanied in Germany by substantial studies by Paul Runge and others.[127] In England, the Stainer family published its pioneer study on Dufay.[128] And Wilhelm Meyer wrote his ground-breaking work on polyphony cited above, thereby setting the course for Ludwig's exhaustive study of these repertoires in the next decade. If only in terms of pages

published, what was accomplished in the study of medieval music in this single decade was unprecedented. A good deal of these pages emanated from France and Germany, countries clearly in dispute, as, for example, in the work of Solesmes and Jacobsthal. As Ludwig later pointed out, by 1900, Germany had emerged as a significant leader, not to say victor in the field of medieval music study.

The remarkable decade ended with an important and related event, Pierre Aubry's coining of the term *musicologie*. As I have related elsewhere, this act was an open challenge to the well-established German *Musikwissenschaft* – an ambition which imbued his entire work, including his earlier *Huit chants*.[129] Aubry's most important scientific contribution to trouvère song during this time was his 1898 Ecole de Chartes dissertation entitled 'The musical philology of the trouvères' ('La philologie musicale des trouvères'). He had chosen to study the trouvères, by then a subject whose scholarship was at least a century old, so that he might bring to bear on their music the recent discoveries of Coussemaker's musical archaeology; he had also chosen them because they were a symbol of the France he held dear. Aubry recognized that no one had yet explored the consequences of Coussemaker's work on the trouvère repertoire. In his dissertation, Aubry reviewed the stale work of Ravallière and Laborde, once again setting up the old rhythmic problematic in trouvère music. This time however, the question would have a scientific answer, for he then turned to the measured notation of polyphony to work out a rhythmic solution. Aubry's answer to the old rhythm question would later be considered imperfect. But to his credit, he did recognize that the rhythmic modes discussed by theorists could be – and were in some medieval cases – applied to trouvère songs. He also joined what he called 'musical morphology' (notational shapes) with textual syntax, thereby uniting philological and archaeological methods to produce a musical philology of the trouvères.[130]

For Aubry, *philologie musicale des trouvères* and *musicologie*, both coined in the space of two years, were related ideas. They were the application of new methods to old subjects, an application conceived in the charged political space of medieval music study in this last decade of the nineteenth century. Musicology was the foil for *Musikwissenschaft*, just as trouvère philology was the antidote for prevailing German theories on French medieval music – and here Aubry specifically had Riemann's recent work in mind. Aubry's patriotic view of the trouvères stood in a long line running from Clément Marot and Claude Fauchet to Ravallière and Le Grand d'Aussy. The trouvères represented France – specifically, as he put it in *Huit chants*,

France at war. In his 1898 dissertation, as in his 1896 *Huit chants* and his 1899 coining of *musicologie*, Aubry fought for the honour of France by studying the trouvères and keeping Germany at bay from this French area of medieval music study. Should Riemann choose to develop his rhythmic theories beyond his more general statements in the 1870s, it would not be without a fight from Aubry. Thus developed the symbiotic relationship of musicology and trouvère philology, whose tragic outcome we shall see in the next chapter.

The troubadours, on the other hand, held no such nationalistic high stakes; they did not have their *philologie musicale*, and Aubry was not interested in conferring one on them. Outside of Provence native François-Juste-Marie Raynouard's *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours* (1816–22), the troubadours had consistently been neglected as an object of study in France.[131] Raynouard's *Choix* was followed in Germany by a veritable cottage industry of Old Occitan study.[132] Though in its earlier phase this industry followed Herder's 'humanitarian nationalism', it was increasingly co-opted in the service of Bismarckian expansionism. Friedrich Diez' *Die Poesie der Troubadours* (1826) and his *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (1829) set the standard for a study of these poets; the first provided a detailed survey and classification of the poetry while the second gave detailed biographies of over thirty troubadours. With these works, Nostredame's *Vies* passed into obsolescence. Although Diez commended the *Vies* for having remained the definitive work on the subject for several centuries, he condemned it for its countless 'historical contradictions and blunders' – it could now no longer be considered a credible source.[133] From mid-century on, courses in Old Occitan were taught in German universities at a time when there was little to no interest for such study in its homeland. Yet in all these German works, troubadour music was seldom discussed.[134]

By 1870, the situation was clear: Germany's literary appropriation of Old Occitan was another symbolic victory and a claim to nationalistic superiority.[135] Slowly, the mighty Lachmannian method had descended upon the neglected troubadours. In 1857, Karl Bartsch produced the first critical edition, that of Toulouse native Peire Vidal. He wished to do for the troubadours what Karl Lachmann had for Middle High German literature, as he put it.[136] He began his edition by ranking all manuscripts containing Peire's poems according to their 'approximate worth to textual criticism', assigning a letter, or siglum, to each one, in keeping with Lachmann's practice.[137] This was followed by a single version of all forty-six poems with notes indicating in which manuscripts the standard reading differed.[138] This

work was soon followed by other such editions in which, however, musical aspects were ignored.[139] In 1869, the philologist Gustav Gröber provided the first *stemma codicum* for a medieval work, the thirteenth-century Occitan adaptation of an Old French chanson de geste, Fierabras; the following year, French philologist Paul Meyer challenged this by creating a similar tree for the twelfth-century Franco-Provençal poem *Girart de Roussillon*.[140] But Meyer was soon upstaged: the first systematic classification of troubadour chansonniers was accomplished by Gustav Gröber (1877) in a 300-page 'article', and that for trouvère books, by Eduard Schwan (1886).[141] In a manner of speaking, by 1890, Germany owned the troubadours; it had almost single-handedly produced one of the centrepieces of Romance philology, the study of troubadour poetry. It was only a matter of time, then, until Germany would produce an equivalent musical philology.

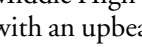
In view of the long lineage from Bembo on, it is appropriate that the first global, scientific study of troubadour music was authored by an Italian literary scholar, Antonio Restori. Having identified the manuscripts which contained melodies and drawn up a list of all extant troubadour songs, Restori published these findings between 1895 and 1896.[142] His work rested largely on a German foundation, Gröber's study of the manuscripts and Karl Bartsch's complete list of troubadour songs. Restori's corresponding list of melodies, 233 attributed and 24 anonymous, was nonetheless most impressive. His reading of troubadour song owed directly to the Solesmes method. Their goal had been to first 'find the primitive and authentic version of these songs' and, secondly, 'to recover the practical value of the notes, that is, their rhythm'.[143] This they did by carefully describing important manuscripts and then presenting the different readings of a given song by running them parallel, one on top of the other, a layout they called in one instance a 'synopsis'.[144] Writing only a few years after Solesmes' use of the synoptic layout in music, Restori opened his study by first carefully describing the four main codices containing troubadour melodies (see table 1.1). He noted that, despite their different origins and notational features, there was generally 'agreement between such independent codices' – as in the field of chant. Beneath the various embellished versions of the different manuscript witnesses lay – and here he cited Solesmes' leader Joseph Pothier – 'the substance of the melody'.[145] Despite some minor differences, all four chansonniers transmitted a very similar melody. As an example of this, Restori then provided a synoptic reading (which he called a musical 'apparatus of variants') of the most famous troubadour melody of all, Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (see example 4.8).



Example 4.8: Restori's 1895 synoptic transcription of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'

Restori had his doubts about systematizing the rhythm of troubadour songs which he considered of popular origin, and therefore not as easily subject to scientific analysis. So he deferred any conclusions to a more detailed study of troubadour melodies in the context of medieval song.[146]

Less than a year later, Hugo Riemann attacked the rhythm dilemma head on and came to a solution Restori and others long before him had anticipated. Independently of Restori, Riemann, as we have seen, had already been working out more general rhythmic interpretations for medieval monophony since the late 1870s. Beginning in 1896, Riemann started refining his previous theories, starting with Middle High German song.[147] Although he had roughly formulated the idea of a systematic interpretation of medieval song in $\frac{4}{4}$ metre prior to this time, he had still been missing the philological theoretical vehicle. In actuality, as we have just seen, the interpretation of medieval German verse in $\frac{4}{4}$ time was something of a scholarly commonplace by at least the 1870s. But Eduard Sievers' 1893 classification of rhythm in medieval Germanic verse provided Riemann with the last piece in the puzzle of a broad theory of medieval musical rhythm. Sievers offered five rhythmic categories, the three most frequent being A ($'\_ \times \mid '\_ \times$), B ($\times '\_ \mid \times '\_$) and C ($\times '\_ \mid '\_ \times$). These types could be further broken down into sub-types he labelled A1, A2 and even A2a and A2ab, and so on.[148]

From Sievers' sophisticated rhythmic classification model, the step towards medieval music was an obvious one, and here Riemann should not be given too much credit, for he essentially applied Sievers' categories first to the music of Minnesang, incidentally, without once citing Sievers. In January of 1897, Riemann drew up in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* a system by which Minnesinger melodies could be interpreted in 'Viervierteltakt', or $\frac{4}{4}$ time. All Middle High German melodies would fit in one of two $\frac{4}{4}$ time patterns, one with an upbeat (iambic) or one without (trochaic). For example, the common octosyllabic verse of epic poetry would be interpreted either as  or as  , with the accent always on the first beat of a bar. From octosyllabic to trisyllabic verse, there lay a total of twelve rhythmic possibilities in this system, labelled 1a (octosyllabic-iambic), 1b (octosyllabic-trochaic), 2a (heptasyllabic-iambic), and so on. The similarities to Sievers' recent categories would have been obvious to most readers at the time.

From here, in subsequent issues of the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* that same year, Riemann quickly turned to troubadour and trouvère song. This was all the more urgent, he declared with nationalistic pride, given the poor



Example 4.9: Riemann's 1897 reading of 'Plaine d'ire et de desconfort'

study of monophonic music and poetic rhythm in France. Likewise Old French and Old Occitan, because of their flexible rhythm, could be fitted into one of Riemann's iambic or trochaic categories. The way to tell these apart was to count backwards from the final or penultimate rhyming syllable which was always emphasized.[149] His first application of *Vierhebigkeit* in September 1897 to French melodies were the anonymous 'Plaine d'ire et de desconfort' (RS 1934), which he set to his rhythmic pattern 1a (example 4.9), and Robert de Reims' 'Qui bien veut amours descrivre' (RS 1655), using pattern 1b.[150] It is perhaps no coincidence that his very first example was a trouvère borrowing of the famous troubadour song 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'; in this way, Riemann seized upon both Occitan and French song from the very start. Riemann's timely *Vierhebigkeit* was the brainchild of German philology. It derived from ideas already articulated in the 1830s by Karl Lachmann, who said that medieval verse had its own regular alternation of strong and weak syllables; a little later in his talk on 'singing and speaking', Lachmann wrote that these two activities were more often than not a single intertwined action in the Middle Ages.[151] *Vierhebigkeit* was, properly speaking, a collectively German musical philology. It signalled yet another German victory in French territory, in what Riemann called the 'chaos of foreign [i.e., French] scholarly literature',[152] and became the first philology of troubadour and trouvère music: a system extrapolated from written evidence which finally provided a scientific solution to the long-standing problem of musical rhythm.

NOTES

1. Bodmer, *Fablen aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger* (1757; repr. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1976), fol. 2v: 'One knows enough to say that these [Minnesinger] songs are the output of a poetic era which was adorned with great spirits – not a small number of them either, and of distinguished parentage – in a nation which people have held for rude and barbaric.'
2. See p. 159 and note 18.
3. Gaston Paris in Pierre Aubry, *Huit chants héroïques de l'ancienne France (XIIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Bureaux de l'Union pour l'Action Morale, 1896), 6–7.
4. Auguste Mermet's 'Chantez Roland' refrain, for example, is found in the first and final acts of his *Roland à Ronceveaux* (1864). For several songs whose theme is Roland, see Henri Gougelot's *Catalogue des romances françaises parues sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Les recueils de romances* (Melun: Legrand et fils, 1938).
5. Aubry, *Huit chants*, 10.
6. Some of these are, in chronological order: Hugo Riemann, 'Die Melodik der Minnesänger, III: Troubadours und Trouvères', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* [Leipzig], 28 (1897), 449–50; Johann-Baptist Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, 1–6; Ugo Sesini, *Le melodie trobadoriche della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Turin: G. Chiantore, 1942), 29–53; Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1962), chapter 4; Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1972), 36–7; van der Werf, 'Music', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 121–3; Aubrey, *Music*, 240–4. Both Margaret Switten and Robert Lug more recently have devoted significant space to Enlightenment historiography (Switten, *Music and Poetry*, 27–37; Robert Lug, *Der Chansonnier Saint-Germain des Prez*, forthcoming, vol. 1, section C I).
7. See Martin Joos and Frederick Whitesell, *Middle High German Courtly Reader* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 252–72.
8. Frederick Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought, 1790–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 8. See also 'German nationalism', in Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 113–17, and Hans Kohn's still useful survey in *The Idea of Nationalism*, chapter 7. On Hayes' Classification, see 'Hayes' Classification', in Snyder's *Encyclopedia*, 130–1.
9. Herder had placed the term 'nationalism' in common usage (Alter, *Nationalism*, 3; see also Kohn, *Idea of Nationalism*, 427–51).
10. Sheehan, *German History*, 166. On Herder's nationalism, see Robert Ergang's older study, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (1931; repr. New York: Octagon, 1976), especially chapter 6 on the *Volkslieder*, and, more recently, Frederick Beiser's *Enlightenment*, chapter 8.
11. 'Die Volkspoesie, ganz Natur, wie sie ist, hat Naivetäten und Reize, durch die sie sich der Hauptschönheit der künstlich vollkommensten Poesie gleichet.' See French original and translation in chapter 2, p. 79, note 8.

12. See Herder, *Volkslieder*, ed. Gaier, 253, 269 and commentary on pp. 1089, 1101.
13. Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (Saint Blasius: Typis San Blasianis, 1784), vol. 1, title page.
14. Hegel as translated in Stephen Houlgate, ed., *The Hegel Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell 1998), 406; Hegel's essay was first published posthumously in 1837. On this and the following, see also Haines, 'The First Musical Edition of the Troubadours: On Applying the Critical Method to Medieval Monophony', *Music & Letters* 83 (2002), 351–70. On Hegel and nineteenth-century German music history, see Andrew Kirkman, '"Under Such Heavy Chains": The Discovery and Evaluation of Late Medieval Music Before Ambros', *19th-Century Music* 24 (2001), 90 and 106.
15. On Grimm's predecessor Franz Bopp, see, for example, Joos and Whitesell, *Courtly Reader*, 265.
16. See Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, 2nd edn (Padua: Liviana, 1985), chapters 2 and 7.
17. See Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958) and Peter F. Ganz, 'Lachmann as an Editor of Middle High German Texts', in *Altgermanistische Editionswissenschaft*, ed. Thomas Bein (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 106–25.
18. Renan, *L'avenir de la science: Pensées de 1848* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1890), 141.
19. More broadly on this question, see Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, chapter 7.
20. Timpanaro, *La genesi*, 29.
21. In fact, the critical method itself allowed for great leeway; its later critics would accuse it of undue creativity. The all-out criticism of the philological method began nearly a century ago with the work of Joseph Bédier. See Hans Aarsleff, 'Scholarship and Ideology: Joseph Bédier's Critique of Romantic Medievalism', in *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism*, ed. Jerome McGann (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 93–113; and William Kibler, 'Joseph Bédier (1864–1938)', in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, vol. 2, *Literature and Philology*, ed. Helen Damico (New York: Garland, 1998), 253–66.
22. Paulin Paris, *Le romancero françois: Histoire de quelques anciens trouvères et choix de leurs chansons* (Paris: Techener, 1833), 179 and 202.
23. As cited in Leo Weise, *Die Lieder des Blondel de Nesle: Kritische Ausgabe nach allen Handschriften* (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1904), xxxix–xlii.
24. 'Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Roi d'Angleterre fait prisonnier par l'ordre de Léopold, Duc d'Autriche, à son retour de la Terre Sainte. Jetté dans une obscure prison. Là, abandonné de ses sujets et de ses sujets [sic] et de ses alliés, il composa une ode provençale qu'il leur addressa, en voici les deux premières strophes' (Anonymous fragment in Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, manuscript 934, number 12). I should mention here in connection with this the *genre troubadour* which continued to thrive well into the nineteenth century, leaving its trace with such periodicals as the *Journal des troubadours* (published from 1807 on) and *L'Echo des trouvères* (from 1866 on).

25. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1801), vol. 2, 224–5 and 760–1.
26. Karl Leopold Röllig, 'Ehrenrettung des berümten Ritters Renaut Schatline de Cousy, Troubadours aus dem 12ten Jahrhundert gegen einige neuere wider ihn erhobene Vorwürfe und Beschuldigungen', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 39 (1802), cols. 631–2. Röllig's accompaniment is in the appendix on p. xii.
27. Cited by Bernard Bardet, 'Perne, François-Louis', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1962), vol. 10, cols. 1073–4; Francisque-Xavier Michel, *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy, revues sur tous les manuscrits, par Francisque Michel; suivies de l'ancienne musique, mise en notation moderne, avec accompagnement de piano, par M. Perne, correspondant de l'Institut Royal de France* (Paris: Crapelet, 1830).
28. The pioneering Michel would go on to publish landmark editions of medieval texts, including the Song of Roland, for which he discovered the oldest and most important source in Oxford (William Roach, 'Francisque Michel: A Pioneer in Medieval Studies', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 114 [1970], 168–78).
29. Perne did mistakenly copy the notes from 'maiz' to 'me' a third too low, however, an understandable error since the clef change is hard to see; in the context of this discussion, I have retained his error in my transcription of O in order to match his version.
30. John Gillespie, *Five Centuries of Keyboard Music: An Historical Survey of Music for Harpsichord and Piano* (New York: Dover, 1965), 13; Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), chapter 8.
31. Michel, *Chroniques françoises de Jacques Gondar, clerc, publiées par F. Michel, suivies de recherches sur le style par Charles Nodier* (Paris: Louis Janet, [1830]), 10–11: 'une demoiselle d'un rare talent et d'une modestie encore plus grande a bien voulu composer pour la chanson de Blondiaux une musique que les amateurs sauront apprécier, etc'.
32. Michel, *Chroniques*, 1–3. Michel's only comment on this song's origin is that it 'sounded traditional'; I have found no medieval counterpart for it.
33. Aubry, *Huit chants*, 4–7.
34. As cited in Henri Gougelot's *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 193–4.
35. *Journal des Troubadours* 1 (1807), 2–3.
36. See Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques: aux origines d'une science de la musique vers 1900', *Acta musicologica* 73 (2001), 21–44.
37. For this citation and what follows, see Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques', 26–7.
38. See Katherine Bergeron's *Decadent Enchantments*.
39. 'Le besoin de savoir agite le monde entier: la civilisation s'avance à pas de géant et renverse tout ce qui lui est oppose' (Fétis, 'Utilité d'un journal de musique, et plan de celui-ci', *Revue musicale* 1 [1827], 1).
40. Fauchet, *Recueil*, 196.
41. La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, *Les bibliothèques françoises*, vol. 1, 4–5 and vol. 2, 427–30, for La Croix du Maine's entries on Adam and Thibaut, and vol. 3, 14–17 and vol. 5, 525–30 for Du Verdier's.

42. Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 149.
43. Peter Holland and Michael Patterson, 'Eighteenth-Century Theatre', *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, ed. John Russell Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 273–7.
44. 'Depuis quelques années les origines du théâtre moderne ont excité en Europe une attention universelle' (Louis-Jean-Nicolas Desrochais Monmerqué and Francisque Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge (XIe–XVIe siècles)* [Paris: Desrez, 1839], i).
45. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux* (1781), vol. 2, 141; see Wilson, *A Medievalist*, 284.
46. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, vol. 2, 150–1; see Aubrey, 'Sources', 859.
47. Méon, *Fabliaux*, vol. 1, xiii–xiv and 106–11. Chansonnier W was then known as La Vallière either 81 or 2736 (See Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classées par ordre alphabétique de rimes et la liste des trouvères* [Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884], vol. 1, 199).
48. Louis-Jean-Nicolas Desrochais Monmerqué, *Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion, par Adam de Le Hale, précédé du Jeu du Pélerin, avec un glossaire* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1822); see also his *Le Jeu Adam* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1828). Both editions were published at only thirty copies each for the Société des Bibliophiles Français of which Monmerqué was a founding member.
49. Monmerqué and Michel, *Théâtre français*, 21.
50. Monmerqué and Michel, *Théâtre français*, 26–9, citing Arthur Dinaux.
51. Fétis, 'Découverte de plusieurs Manuscrits intéressans pour l'histoire de la musique', *Revue musicale* 1 (1827), 6–7. Fétis lists these by their old shelfmarks: 'manuscrits du roi cotés 65 [P] et 66 [O] (fonds de Cangé), et 2,736 (fonds de la Vallière) [W]' (p. 7); for the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* he later cites W and 7604 of the royal library, BnF ffr 1569 cited above (p. 9). On the latter, see *Catalogue des manuscrits français* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1868), vol. 1, 256.
52. Lebeuf, 'Notice sommaire', 127.
53. 'A la fin d'un grand nombre de leurs chansons, on trouve les premiers mots de l'hymne, dont l'air est celui de la chanson' (Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 146, note c).
54. Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 154.
55. Fétis, 'Découverte', 10.
56. Fétis, 'Découverte', 10.
57. Fétis, 'Découverte', 11.
58. Bottée de Toulmon, 'De la chanson musicale en France au Moyen Age', *Annuaire historique pour l'année 1837, publié par la Société de l'Histoire de France* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1836), 216, and his 'Notice sur Adam de la Halle, musicien' in Monmerqué and Michel, *Théatre français*, 49–54.
59. Arthur Dinaux, *Les trouvères cambrésiens* (1836; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 45–71.
60. Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, 'Recension', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [Leipzig] 13 (1827), cols. 213–24, with transcription on col. 219. This transcription, along with Fétis' commentary, are also found in Fétis' 'Polémique sur la traduction

de la notation musicale des treizième et quatorzième siècles', *Revue musicale* 3 (1828), 457–67.

61. Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik*, 2nd rev. edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1846), appendix ii; the first edition was published in 1834.
62. Heinrich Bellermann, *Die mensural Noten und Taktzeichen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinrich Husmann (1858; repr. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963), 125.
63. Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (1865; repr. Hildesheim: George Olms, 1964), 116–19.
64. Alexandre Desplanques, 'Archéologie musicale', *Le Correspondant* 3 (1869), 1158–1166.
65. Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie* (Paris: Didron, 1852), 104: 'une lourde psalmodie, comme on l'a prétendu, elle a dû être, au contraire, pourvue d'un rhythme musical'.
66. This is clear from his correspondence from 1860 to 1875 kept in the BnF. Département de la Musique, lettres autographes, microfilm number 18.
67. Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie*, 71, plate XXXI and appendix 'traduction des fac-similés en notation moderne', xxxv.
68. Here are the opening words of the *Histoire*: 'Dans l'histoire de la musique au moyen âge, le fait dominant est la constitution, à l'état d'art, de la musique à sons simultanés, de la musique mesurée et de la notation proportionnelle. . . '.
69. Coussemaker, *Histoire*, viii.
70. 'le plus ancien trouvère musicien qui nous ait laissé des compositions musicales à plusieurs parties' (Coussemaker, *Histoire*, 70–1).
71. Coussemaker, *Œeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle (poésie et musique)* (Paris: Durand & Pédone-Lauriel, 1872), xiii.
72. Coussemaker, *Histoire*, 140.
73. See my 'Paraphrases musico-théâtrales du *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, 1870–1930', *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* 216 (2002), 281–94.
74. Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique*, 7–8; Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 110–11.
75. Nisard's copies of the Montpellier codex survive in Paris, BnF nouvelles acquisitions françaises 9540, dated 1876.
76. Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique*, 6.
77. This suggestion is made negatively: 'Sans nous donner pour les Cristophe-Colombs d'un nouveau monde musical, il nous est permis de croire que ces révélations ne sont pas tout à fait indignes de l'attention des archéologues' (*L'art harmonique*, 122).
78. This poem is edited in Roger Berger's *Littérature et société arrageoises*. See also Mark Everist, 'The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century', *Music and Letters* 69 (1988), 1–22.
79. These are Audefroi le Batard, Baude de La Kakerie, Blondeau de Nesles, Colart le Boutellier, Gautier d'Argies, Gautier de Soignies, Guillaume le Vinier, Jean

Bodel, Jean Fremiau, Jean de Neuville, Jean Erard, Jean le Cunelier, Martin le Beguin and Simon d'Authie (Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique*, 204).

80. See Haines, 'Généalogies', 34–5.
81. Notably his *Chants populaires des flamands de France* (Gand: Gyselynck, 1856).
82. Coussemaker, *Œeuvres complètes*, vi and viii.
83. Thirty-four chansons, sixteen *jeux-partis*, seventeen rondeaux, seven motets, one *congé*, one poem and three *jeux*.
84. Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique*, 16.
85. Gustav Jacobsthal, *Die Mensuralnotenschrift des zwœlften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1871).
86. Gustav Jacobsthal, 'Die Texte der Liederhandschrift von Montpellier H. 196', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 3 (1879), 526–56 and 4 (1880), 278–317.
87. Wilhelm Meyer, 'Der Ursprung des Motetts: vorläufige Bemerkungen' in *Nachrichten von der königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1898*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Luder Horstmann, 1898), 113–45; reprinted in Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905), vol. 2, 303–41.
88. Ludwig carefully tallied his research travels from 1897 on in a notebook now housed in Göttingen, entitled 'Meine Studienreisen' (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Codex Ms. Ludwig XXXIII).
89. Cited in chapter 3, p. 135.
90. A facsimile of this manuscript, along with an account of its discovery are found in *Paléographie musicale*, vols. 7 and 8: *Antiphonarium tonale missarum, XIe siècle, Codex H. 159, de la bibliothèque de l'école de médecine de Montpellier* (Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1901–05).
91. A good summary is found in Gustav Reese, *Music of the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), 140–8.
92. 'Recueillir les manuscrits, les classer au moyen des écritures, des variantes, des lacunes; les déchiffrer, reconnaître dans chaque classe les types les plus anciens et les meilleurs; choisir les leçons les plus autorisées . . . enfin restituer par tous les moyens les passages altérés, voilà la tâche qui incombe à tout éditeur' (*Paléographie musicale*, vol. 2, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 2 [Saint-Pierre: Solesmes, 1892], 13).
93. *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 1, *Le codex 339 de la bibliothèque de Saint Gall* (1899; repr. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974), 33 and *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 2, 13 and 27.
94. *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 2, 40 ff. On liquescence, see most recently Timothy McGee, *Sound of Medieval Song*, 46–56 and the literature cited there.
95. André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien, ou Rhythmique grégorienne, théorie et pratique* (Paris: Desclée, 1908–27), 2 vols.
96. Jumilhac, *La science et la pratique du plain-chant*, ed. Théodore Nisard and Alexandre Le Clercq (Paris: Le Clercq and Nisard, 1847), 142 and 160.
97. Perne, 'Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy', *Revue musicale* 11 (1830), 298–303.
98. Perne in Michel, *Chansons*, 144.

99. Perne in Michel, *Chansons*, 143.
100. See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995), 278.
101. 'Das musikalische Element spielt in ihnen eine wichtige Rolle; die Sangbarkeit gibt sich schon in den überaus graziösen, melodisch hinfliessenden Formen zu erkennen: man kann sagen, die meisten Pastourellen singen sich von selbst' (Karl Bartsch, *Romances et pastourelles françaises des XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* [1870; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967], xv–xvi).
102. See Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels', 91 and note 4.
103. Gustav Jacobsthal, 'Über die musikalische Bildung der Meistersänger', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 20 (1876), 69–91.
104. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken gesammelt und berichtigt, mit den Lesarten derselben, Geschichte des Lebens der Dichter und ihrer Werke, Sangweisen der Lieder, Reimverzeichnis der Anfänge, und Abbildungen sämmtlicher Handschriften* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1838–61), vol. 4, 853–62, with musical examples in appendix.
105. Rochus von Liliencron and Friedrich Wilhelm Stade, *Lieder und Sprüche aus der letzten Zeit des Minnesanges, übersetzt: für gemischten und Männerchor vierstimmig bearbeitet* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1854), 5–10. See also Liliencron's *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1865–9), 4 vols.
106. Röllig, 'Ehrenrettung', appendix pp. xi–xii; cf. Laborde, *Essai*, vol. 2, 281.
107. 'Sie möge daher [mehr als die andern] der Nachsicht des beurtheilenden Kenners empfohlen sein' (A. J. Schmid in Ferdinand Wolf, *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der rhythmischen Formen und Singweisen der Volkslieder und der volksmässigen Kirchen- und Kunstlieder im Mittelalter* [1841; Osnabruck: Zeller, 1965], appendix, p. 21).
108. August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 3rd rev. edn (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1891), vol. 2, 254; Hugo Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878), 211–24; *idem*, *Musikalische Dynamik und Agogik: Lehrbuch der musikalischen Phrasirung auf Grund einer Revision der Lehre von der musikalischen Metrik und Rhythmik* (Leipzig: F. Kistner, 1884), chapter 1.
109. Riemann, *Studien*, 211 ff.
110. Ambros, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, 244.
111. Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: E. Plon, 1889), 417.
112. Ambros, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, 265, note 1.
113. Frédéric Mistral, *Mirèio, pouèmo prouvençau*, 2nd edn (Paris: Enco de Charpentier, 1860), 499–500: 'Magali: mélodie provençale populaire'.
114. Mistral's 1898 public letter as cited by Louis Lambert, *Chants et chansons populaires du Languedoc* (Paris: Welter, 1906), 153–4: 'A l'époque et au moment

où je songeais à rimer une chanson d'allure populaire sur le thème provençal et rudimentaire de *Magali*, j'entendis un des laboureurs de mon père chanter une chanson provençale sur l'air en question que je ne connaissais pas encore et qui me parut fort joli, et je rimai *Magali* sur le rythme et sur l'air de la chanson susdite . . . Chanson et air, je ne les entendais que dans la bouche du laboureur dont je vous ais parlé, et je suis convaincu que c'était le *dernier* détenteur du chant en question qui avait pour sujet l'arrivée du rossignol. Ce fut donc par un coup de cette Providence qui protège les poètes (*Deus, ecce Deus!*) que l'air et le rythme de *Magali* me furent révélés au moment psychologique'.

115. Tiersot, *Histoire*, 368 and 415 note 1.
116. Titus Galino, *Musique et versification françaises au Moyen-âge* (Leipzig: Auguste Pries, 1891), 11 and 17.
117. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876), vol. 5, 7 and 11–13.
118. References cited in *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841), vol. 13, 42 ('Guillaume IX, comte de Poitou, et Duc d'Aquitaine: sa vie et ses écrits').
119. Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Lettre-traité de Pierre-Daniel Huet sur l'origine des romans* (1670; Paris: Nizet, 1971), 51.
120. Leech-Wilkinson's *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, chapter 1, gives a detailed overview of this period. As one non-musicological source among many on the following events, see Koppel Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization*, 2nd edn (New York: Macmillan, 1970), chapter 7.
121. Cited in Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, vol. 2, *From the First Empire to the Second Empire, 1799–1871* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973), 209.
122. Lot as cited in Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques', 33.
123. The following works are also discussed in Haines, 'Friedrich Ludwig's "Musicology of the Future": A Commentary and Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12 (2003), 129–164.
124. *Paléographie musicale* (Saint-Pierre: Solesmes): vols. 2–3, Le *répons-graduel Justus ut palma* (1891–2); vol. 4, *Le Codex 121 de la bibliothèque d'Einsiedeln (X^e–XIe siècle), Antiphonale missarum sancti Gregorii* (1894); vol. 5, *Antiphonarium Ambrosianum du Musée Britannique (XIIe siècle), Codex additional 34209* (1896).
125. Paul Meyer and Gaston Raynaud, *Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain-des-Près (Bibl. Nat. fr. 20050): reproduction phototypique avec transcription* (Paris: Didot, 1892); Karl Konrad Müller, *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift* (Jena: F. Strobel, 1896).
126. Jacobsthal, *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1897).
127. Friedrich Arnold Mayer and Heinrich Rietsch, *Die Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift und der Mönch von Salzburg* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1896); Paul Runge, *Die Sangesweisen der Colmarer Handschrift und die Liederhandschrift Donaueschingen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896).

128. John F. Stainer and C. Stainer, *Dufay and His Contemporaries: Fifty Compositions . . . transcribed from MS Canonici misc. 213* (London: Novello, 1898).
129. See Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques', 21–3.
130. Aubry, 'La philologie musicale des trouvères', *Positions de thèses, Ecole des Chartes* (Toulouse: Privat, 1898), 5–13. Jacques Chailley rediscovered Aubry's thesis in the 1950s (Chailley, 'Quel est l'auteur de la "théorie modale" dite de Beck–Aubry?', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 10 [1953], 214). Unfortunately, it has since disappeared; my thanks to Nathalie Cousin of the Sorbonne music library, for her help in searching for Aubry's thesis on the premisces.
131. Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours* (1816–21; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1966). Volume 3 contains poems from sixty troubadours and volume 4 has poems arranged according to genre such as *tenso* and *sirventes*.
132. On the following, see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, '"Un souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé": Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', in *Romance Philology* 40 (1986), 1–37, and Haines, 'First Musical Edition of the Troubadours', 351.
133. Friedrich Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours nach gedruckten und handschriftlichen Werken derselben dargestellt*, 2nd edn, ed. Karl Bartsch (1883; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), vi: 'Widersprüche und Verstösse gegen die Geschichte'; Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours: Ein Beitrag zur nähern Kenntnis des Mittelalters*, 2nd edn, ed. Karl Bartsch (1882; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965).
134. One exception to this in the field of Old French was a Leipzig dissertation by a student from Romania, Titus Galino's *Musique*.
135. John Graham, 'National Identity and Publishing the Troubadours', in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 57–94.
136. Karl Bartsch, *Peire Vidals Lieder* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1857), unnumbered foreword.
137. Bartsch, *Peire*, lxxxvi–xci. The citation is actually taken from Bartsch's later work which assigns the same sigla, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Provenzalischen Literatur* (Elberfeld: Friedrich, 1872), 27: 'Die ungefähren Werthe, den sie für Kritik haben . . . Je nach den benutzten Quellen die Liedersammlung eines Dichters in einer Hs. grösseren Werth haben kann und hat'.
138. Bartsch, *Peire*.
139. Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Toulouse: Privat, 1934), vol. 1, 30–5. See Robert Taylor, *La littérature occitane*, for citations of authors such as Camille Chabaneau and Paul Meyer.
140. Gustav Gröber, *Die handschriftlichen Gestaltungen der Chanson de Geste 'Fierabras' und ihre Vorstufen* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1869), 27; Paul Meyer, 'Etudes sur la chanson de Girart de Roussillon', *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 11 (1870), 121–42.
141. Gustav Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', and Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*.

142. Antonio Restori, 'Per la storia musicale dei Trovatori provenzali: Appunti e note', *Rivista musicale italiana* 2 (1895), 1–22, 3 (1896), 231–260 and 407–451. On what follows, see my more detailed 'First Musical Edition of the Troubadours', 356–9. The author of the anonymous 'Note sur la musique des chansons' in Louis Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900* (Paris: A. Colin, 1896), vol. 1, 390–404, is indeed Restori (*Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti*, ed. Alberto Basso [Turin: UTET, 1988], vol. 2, part 6, 309; cf. Switten, *Bibliography*, 46–7).
143. *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 1, 27.
144. *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 2, 52.
145. Pothier as cited in Restori, 'Per la storia', 9.
146. Restori, 'Per la storia', 443. On his belief in the folk nature of troubadour song, see Restori in Julleville, *Histoire*, vol. 1, 395–6, and Restori's 'Per la storia', 20–1 and 440–3.
147. Hugo Riemann, 'Die Melodik der deutschen Minnesänger', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 28 (1896), 1–2, and 28 (1897), 17–18, 33–4, 45–6, 61–2 and supplement; 'Die Melodik der Minnesänger, III: Troubadours und Trouvères', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 28 (1897), 389–90, 401–2, 413–14, 425–6, 437–8, 449–50, 465–6, 481–3, 497–8, 513–14; 'Die Rhythmik der geistlichen und weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 31 (1900), 285–6, 309–10, 321–2, 333–4, 345–7, 429–30, 441–2; 'Die Melodik der Minnesinger', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 33 (1902), 429–30, 441–4, 457–8, 469–71.
148. Eduard Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1893), 31–3.
149. Riemann, 'Die Melodik' 28 (1897), 450.
150. Riemann, 'Die Melodik', 465–6. For a fuller discussion and transcription, see Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels', 92.
151. Lachmann, 'Über althochdeutsche Betonung und Verskunst' and 'Über Singen und Sagen' in *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie*, ed. Karl Müllenhoff (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1876), 358–406 and 461–79.
152. Cited in Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels', note 5.

CHAPTER 5

Recent readings

> Habitant des pays d'Oc, méridional mon frère, tu le sais que nous sommes tous riches et musiciens? Riche en mots et musiciens de phrases.
>
> Claude Marti, *Sol y sombra*[1]

In 1996 two books on the troubadours appeared, both substantial studies, both the product of over a decade of research, and both offering an in-depth look at individual figures, their music and its sources. Yet each presented a different point of view. Elizabeth Aubrey's *The Music of the Troubadours* described and inventoried manuscript sources, transcribed melodies either in a rhythmically neutral notation or in an approximation of medieval note shapes, and described their tonal characteristics. It was the product of a well-established German-American academic study of both the troubadours and medieval music, and copies would quickly find their way on to college and university library shelves; it was recently reissued in a paperback edition.[2] Gérard Zuchetto's *Terre des troubadours* was a view of the troubadours from one of their descendants, a singer-composer and native Occitan speaker born and bred in the Languedoc who had founded an international centre for troubadour research.[3] His book was a luxurious coffee-table edition twice the weight of Aubrey's tome, with colour illustrations on nearly every page – a book partly funded by the Languedoc-Roussillon region and little known in North America. Biographies and poems took up far more space than music; the latter could be heard on the accompanying compact disk featuring lively performances by the author himself backed by an Arabic frame drum (*bendir*) and fretless lute (*'ūd*). The melodies transcribed in the text were occasionally given a rhythmic interpretation.[4] These books' two titles were significant: Aubrey carefully analyzed *The Music of the Troubadours* while Zuchetto earnestly defended his native *Terre des troubadours*. At the end of the twentieth century, the two strands in the reading of French medieval song, the scholarly and creative approaches, could still be distinguished.

Aubrey and Zuchetto's books attest to the special prominence of the troubadours in the last century. In a strange reversal of their posthumous fortune, the southern poets have risen to international prominence, leaving the trouvères in comparative neglect. Troubadour fame first spread thanks to the nineteenth-century academic interest described in chapter 4. Raynouard's 1816 *Grammaire romane* inspired the formation of the Félibrige group to revive Old Occitan as a literary language. Raynouard had also raised the literary prestige of the troubadours as originators of vernacular lyric poetry; he considered Old Occitan the prototype of all other Romance languages.[5] This status was reinforced by the predominantly German work already discussed, from Diez to Gröber, both of whom were also responsible for introducing Old Occitan courses in German universities.[6] At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, English-speaking writers joined the growing throng of troubadour enthusiasts; German expatriate Francis Hueffer's 1878 *The Troubadours* was followed in England and America by several important surveys.[7] By the time his *Allegory of Love* appeared in 1936, C. S. Lewis could write that the troubadours had not only invented vernacular lyric poetry but 'that romantic species of passion which English poets were still writing about in the nineteenth [century]'.[8]

A growing academic tradition of Old Occitan study dovetailed with the long-standing one of *imitatio*. The early troubadour advocate, American poet Ezra Pound rendered Old Occitan into elegant English, as in the first few lines from his translation of Bernart de Ventadorn's famous 'lark song' given earlier in example 1.3:[9]

> When I see the lark a-moving
> For joy his wings against the sunlight,
> Who forgets himself and lets himself fall
> For the sweetness which goes into his heart;
> Ai! What great envy comes unto me
> For him whom I see so rejoicing!

The *imitatio* tradition would continue up to the end of the century, as in Ronnie Apter's adaptation of the same poem:[10]

> When I see the lark soar
> in the sunlight
> lift
> and fall
> from sheer unthinking joy
> Envy pierces me
> and all rejoicing
> sears my wanting heart.

Pound's fascination with the 'Provençal poets' in the first decade of the twentieth century signalled the entry of Old Occitan into American academic life. Old Occitan became increasingly visible in British and American universities from the first half of the century on, with such lights as Charles H. Grandgent (Harvard University), Henry J. Chaytor (Cambridge University) and William Shepard (Hamilton College), the latter a German-trained American scholar with whom Pound had studied.[11] The result was a growing body of scholarship on the troubadours and Old Occitan, a good deal of it in English rather than German or French as the century progressed.[12]

The troubadours have also occupied an important place in the history of music. Beginning with the eighteenth-century music histories of Hawkins and Burney, they were given an increasingly pivotal role as creators of a brand new musical art. For many twentieth-century writers on history, troubadour music constituted the genesis of sorts; as Luciano Alberti put it, '[a new] style of secular music originated in southern France with the troubadours'.[13] Secular music predating the troubadours may have existed, but it was not written down; it was 'submerged in darkness', in the words of another writer, and the troubadours had preserved this music by bringing it into the light of history.[14] Some histories further claimed that troubadour songs could still be heard in contemporary French songs.[15] This connection between folk song and the troubadours went back to the Renaissance, and the image of the troubadours as folk singers harked back to the eighteenth century, as we have already seen. A more recent historical stereotype was the orientalized troubadour. Fétis' notion, cited earlier, of troubadour song as 'remembered Oriental songs' from the crusades appealed to certain historians. Writers from Edward Dent to Curt Sachs saw a close relation between medieval monophony and Middle Eastern or North African music.[16] Donald Grout wrote that troubadour art took 'its original inspiration from the neighbouring Hispano-Mauresque culture of the Iberian peninsula',[17] and others wrote that the troubadours had inherited from the Arabs (or the 'Mohammedans in Palestine') a new way of singing and new instruments such as the '*ūd*.[18] And so it should not surprise us that alongside these musicological developments, the Moncrifian tradition of creating new musical settings for old poems continued to thrive. Ezra Pound, who was familiar with nineteenth-century troubadour scholarship, knew of the melodies in troubadour chansonnier G. He passed on his notes to Walter Rummel, who set several troubadour melodies in 1913 including Arnaut Daniel's *sestina* (example 5.1; see original in example 1.4). One commentator would write of his troubadour settings: 'The writer with the help of



Example 5.1: Rummel's setting of Arnaut's *sestina* in Pound's *Hesternae Rosae* (1913)

Mr. Ezra Pound . . . has given these melodies the rhythm and the ligature, the character which, from an artistic point of view, seems the most descriptive of the mediæval mind'. Their accompaniment, harmonization and rhythmic interpretation is entirely within the Enlightenment tradition.[19]

All of these developments are related to the political ascendancy of Modern Occitan in France, despite and perhaps in part due to the steady decrease in number of speakers of the language.[20] Thanks to the pioneering efforts of Raynouard and the Félibrige, the modern Occitanist movement has grown with new publications such as *Oc*, organizations such as the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans*, schools such as Toulouse's *Collège d'Occitanie*

and the bilingual *Calendretas*, and an impressive corpus of literature which has frequently adapted the troubadours to the agenda of Modern Occitan's struggle for survival.[21] This has been accompanied in the twentieth century by an unprecedented popularization of southern French culture, where an indistinct 'Midi' or 'Provence' is stereotyped and marketed in films or in the popular novels of Marcel Pagnol, for example: Provence is an ideal, sun-kissed world where such figures as the plump Marius or the virginal Mireille move, waving their arms expressively and speaking with the famous 'accent de Marseille'.[22] Yet despite this national and international attention, speakers of Modern Occitan have dwindled, causing at least one scholar to write: 'It is hard to be optimistic about the survival of Occitan as a living language into the twenty-first century'.[23]

The word 'troubadour' now evokes a vast spectrum of images ranging from medieval to modern. From the early nineteenth century on, 'troubadour' connoted an archetypal wandering singer: 'one who composes or sings verses or ballads' or 'a composer or writer in support of some cause or interest'.[24] Stephen Foster, Irving Berlin, Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan and Ernest Tubb, for example, have all been called American troubadours. The narrative they have in common is of a man of humble origins – a suffering and intensely personal folk singer – whose songs are both autobiographical and representative of the people.[25] Popular music groups have often adopted the term, such as Sam Lanin and the *Ipana Troubadours* or Tubb's *Texas Troubadours* – in all cases, producing nostalgic music for the people and by the people. In 1965, Wilfrid Mellers introduced the idea of 'the new troubadours' in academic discourse; he had in mind the popular music of his time, especially what he called the 'folk-song revival movement'. For Mellers, it was Bob Dylan more than anyone else who epitomized the new troubadour for his profound message and lacklustre performance.[26] In due time, performers of southern France would profit from the troubadour's international popularity. The troubadour had emerged from centuries of provincial oblivion on to an international stage, becoming a pop icon for the twentieth century. In the twentieth century, 'troubadour' became a skeleton-word on to which rich and varied associations could be laid until each living troubadour stood, dressed in vivid colours.

In the process, the trouvères, once so popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, receded into the background. This was, I believe, because no regional nationalistic struggle was associated with the northern poets; there was no dying language or culture to save. Scholarship on trouvère poetry continued during the twentieth century, but not nearly in the same quantity devoted to the troubadours. At last count, well over twice as many individual studies in the twentieth century were devoted to troubadours

(198) than to trouvères (75).[27] While the *trobaïritz* have been studied since the early twentieth century with several editions and important studies devoted to them, the women trouvères received almost no attention, with the first study appearing only quite recently.[28] The trouvères have often been viewed as poor imitators of the troubadours, music (rather than literary) histories offering a case in point; to cite but one instance of many, we find in McKinney and Anderson's *Music in History* the trouvères subsumed under the heading 'The Troubadours and Their Fellows'.[29] This is true in the area of sound recording discussed later in this chapter, where the troubadours have also outnumbered the trouvères.[30]

MODAL THEORIES

Whether or not troubadour and trouvère songs would continue to prosper depended on their adaptation to the new scientific era of electricity and steam power; the old quest for medieval rhythm would need to be reconfigured for the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century already, philology had demanded a single authentic reading, thereby requiring a uniform and scientific solution to the transcription of troubadour and trouvère rhythm. That the question of rhythm became even more central in the twentieth than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries owed not only to the new, philological lens through which readers saw medieval texts, but also to the obsessive importance which rhythmic interpretation took in the field of plainchant, culminating with Solesmes' work. While troubadour and trouvère songs may not have had chant's advantage of being an issue for countless local parishes, they nonetheless held a certain political importance to francophones. The medieval singers' prominence was by now guaranteed not only in the standard *lycéen* literary diet but, increasingly, in collections of folk music; so a method of editing their music was becoming a pressing issue, particularly in France.[31] A scientific interpretation of troubadour and trouvère songs would be useful not only to researchers, but to conservatory-trained and amateur musicians around the world, especially in France, where they might once again 'look on with pride' at these songs, in one writer's words.[32] On the one hand, Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit* had succeeded in doing just this, in turning medieval songs into 'astonishingly fresh melodies' palatable to contemporary readers, as one scholar put it.[33] But Riemann's unabashedly francophobe tendencies posed difficulties for some of his French readers; Pierre Aubry made this explicit when he wrote that Riemann and his school of 'German musicologists' had committed 'an excess of systematization'.[34] Riemann's method was also coming under

increasing criticism from German scholars as well. Friedrich Ludwig would state in a 1905 address at the University of Strasbourg (then Straßburg) that Riemann had falsely 'assumed that all medieval monophonic music . . . was rhythmically constructed on the same principle, as long as its notation did not indicate rhythm'.[35] A clearer solution to the rhythm question, Ludwig then suggested, had newly emerged from recent studies of the medieval motet.

When, in 1898, literary scholar Wilhelm Meyer had laid out the liturgical origins of the thirteenth-century motet, he had made clear that, despite the work of Coussemaker, the identity and origins of motet tenors were hitherto unknown, and realized that his study would have long-range implications for that of medieval music.[36] For what Meyer had discovered was that earlier organa, music so unspectacular as to have been previously dismissed (as Jean Lebeuf had in the 1700s[37]), were in many cases based on the very same music as the motets which Coussemaker had enthusiastically unearthed in the 1860s. Meyer's landmark study some three decades later was devoted to a collection of what he called 'polyphonic antiphons' in a manuscript held in the Laurentian library in Florence (Plut. 29, 1), whose texts and melodies had only recently been published by Guido Maria Dreves; the contents of these 'antiphons' corresponded exactly to Leonin and Perotin's lost Great Book of Organum (*Magnus liber organi*).[38] Meyer's exciting find was passed on a few years later to English readers in *The Oxford History of Music*, which showcased several facsimile reproductions of the Florence manuscript – and the rest is motet history.[39]

Meyer's insight into the broader inter-relationships between chant and polyphony implied other connections which would become the foundation for the so-called modal theory. Since the melodies and the texts of later motets and earlier organa were often very similar, the later mensural notation might be relevant for interpreting the earlier, non-mensural one. The most knowledgeable scholar of medieval polyphony at the time, Friedrich Ludwig, summed up the conundrum in his 1905 speech:

> The oldest polyphonic notation was not yet able in every case to indicate clearly a strict measure or mensural rhythm where two or more parts of a different musical character moved together. This ability only developed gradually, probably no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century, that is, in connection with the rapid development of motet art. We are able to follow the individual stages of mensural notation's development both in theoretical writings and in motet manuscripts. . . . In these we find a considerable number of motets transmitted in different notations, which constitutes very helpful material in clarifying rhythmic questions.[40]

Although his research was more concerned with musically fleshing out the picture for which Meyer had only provided a sketch, in particular polyphony of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, he had grasped in the course of this work how monophony fitted into the big picture. Ludwig was building up an unprecedented body of data on medieval music; hundreds of pages of his unpublished transcriptions from early chant to late polyphony still survive today, some of which will be discussed below.

It is important to remember Ludwig's (as Riemann and Meyer's) work on medieval music in the political context of late nineteenth-century Germany.[41] On the one hand, Ludwig's view of the unity of historical narrative and his formidable grasp of historical detail was directly indebted to the groundbreaking work of historian Leopold von Ranke. On the other, his concept of latent rhythm owed especially to Hegel who, as discussed earlier, saw principles which had 'not yet emerged into existence' (chapter 4, p. 158). Ludwig had attended university in Berlin where both of these men had taught and had studied philosophy there with one of Hegel's foremost advocates, Wilhelm Windeband. He later became the advisee of historian Harry Bresslau at Strasbourg; Bresslau was a student of Georg Waitz and Johann Gustav Droysen, students of Ranke and Hegel, respectively. This intricate academic network was also a political one. Ranke, a lifelong Prussian monarchist and intimate of Frederick Wilhelm IV, saw the rise of the late medieval German state as foreshadowing that of Prussia. Droysen later became a prominent Prussian politician devoted to disseminating the ideals of his teacher; his history writing was unabashedly in the service of the state, a politically less moderate view than that of Ranke and his followers.[42] Hegel later in life openly supported Friedrich Wilhelm III and saw the Prussian state as the proper culmination of German history; and Droysen and Waitz had both been some of the most outspoken advocates of a Prussian-led Germany in the 1848 Revolution. Berlin was the hub for the academic career of all of these men at one time or another – including Ludwig, who had once been a student in that city. Ludwig's own professorial position at Strasbourg was crucial to the Second Reich since Strasbourg's recently founded *Reichsuniversität* was the academic spearhead in that newly conquered city. Thus medieval music history writing and the Prussia-led German state grew up together.

Latent rhythm became the German scientific breakthrough for French medieval monophony in the twentieth century. Thanks to his magisterial view of medieval music, it quickly dawned on Ludwig that the 'modal rhythm' latent in organa might also occur in French monophonic repertoires and, by 1903, he had seen the potential connection between trouvère

songs and the mensurally notated pieces in the early fourteenth-century *Roman de Fauvel*. He claimed then to have no doubt that 'monophonic French music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was sung mensurally'.[43] A few years later, he had formulated the cornerstone of the future modal theory: 'A comparison between . . . French motets and contemporary monophonic French *chansons* also yields information concerning the rhythm of the latter which is not obtainable in other ways'. Another way to access this rhythm was through the handful of melodies 'transmitted in developed mensural notation, that is with a clearer rhythmic reading'. Ludwig was here again thinking primarily of the *Fauvel* manuscript since he was not familiar with all of the mensurally notated troubadour and trouvère songs listed in chapter 1 (table 1.7). But the principle was the important thing, which in all these different cases was the same: 'the rhythmically unclear notation of metrical texts and older polyphony must take the clear relationships found in later readings as its starting point'.[44]

Ludwig's use of the expression 'metrical texts' here to describe troubadour and trouvère songs pointed to another contribution Wilhelm Meyer had made to the modal approaches. In this ongoing debate, Meyer was one of a few scholars at the time, along with Adolf Tobler and Franz Saran, to argue that medieval accentual poetry had retained to some extent the metres of classical verse; in some ways, their position was related to Riemann's discussed earlier. Tobler and Saran especially argued that a good deal of Latin, along with Old French and Old Occitan poetry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was rhythmic. This idea was vital to Ludwig's theory of latent rhythm, as it would become very soon to someone who was a student at the time, Johann-Baptist Beck.[45] For if metric patterns were somehow embedded in these accentual songs, then it would follow that they would manifest themselves musically as well as textually. The application of this hypothesis to music was briefly attempted by Franz Saran in 1904.[46] In sum, Saran, Tobler and Meyer had laid the philological foundation for the modal theory of Johann-Baptist Beck, who would write the following to Meyer in 1911:

> I recognized from the start that everything you taught me [through print, since Beck did not actually study under Meyer] about medieval rhythm had been worked out through minute research, and I admired not only your divine patience, but also your results acquired without the help of music. And I, who only came at the subject from a musical perspective, at first had my doubts. But now that I have come to recognize that your teachings are not mere postulates but, insofar as verification is possible, are confirmed in principle by music – now, my admiration is all the greater.[47]

To be fair, the importance of mensural readings in trouvère song had been around for some time. I have already shown that the idea of applying the quantitative metres of Greek and Roman poetry to the French language went back to the Renaissance *Académie de poésie et musique* and their ideal of the *vers mesurez* as discussed in chapter 2. The modern intention to restore medieval rhythm was clearly in dialogue with this Renaissance ideal of 'recapturing the practice of music according to its perfection' as stated in the *Académie* statutes (chapter 2, p. 75). As for the idea of imposing medieval mensural readings on non-mensural notation, it was already implicit in Gaignières' late seventeenth-century copies, suggested as early as Ravallière's eighteenth-century edition, and systematized in the work of Fétis, Perne and Coussemaker in the nineteenth century. What had been lacking before 1900, however, was a comprehensive study of medieval evidence such as that being done for the motet. Fétis and Coussemaker may have linked mensural notation with trouvère song through Adam de la Halle's music, but neither had attempted anything so thorough as an application of mensurality to a large body of non-mensural trouvère songs, although Perne had initiated such a project a few years before his death. Since the 1890s, the exact development of mensural notation was much better understood than in Perne's time, thanks to the work of Jacobsthal, Meyer and Ludwig. The twentieth century thus had a brand new foundation for the important task Ludwig now suggested, a foundation backed by the fully developed science of textual criticism and its recent use in plainchant. By 1905, Ludwig saw the application of latent mensurality to French monophony as 'one of the most pressing tasks in this field of research'.[48] He equally saw that this was a task of many years, one which his research commitments at the time forbade him to undertake. Nonetheless, his words were full of ambitious hope: it seemed that, finally, the solution to the trouvère rhythm quandary was at hand.

As it turns out, the coveted solution upon which Ludwig had stumbled in his study of the motet would not so easily be produced. In the first decade of the twentieth century, there ensued a struggle of international proportions and disastrous consequences over whom would receive credit for being the originator of this idea. These events remained so controversial for the remainder of the century that their exact sequence was not cleared up until quite recently.[49] The primary driving force in what later became unofficially known as the 'Beck–Aubry scandal' was the Franco-German conflict described in the last chapter. We have by now encountered at least once the main individuals involved: Hugo Riemann, a professor at Leipzig in his fifties; Pierre Aubry, a financially independent scholar in his



Figure 5.1: Portrait of Pierre Aubry

late twenties (figure 5.1); Friedrich Ludwig, a lecturer at Strasbourg in his early thirties (figure 5.2), and Johann-Baptist Beck, a doctoral candidate at Strasbourg in his early twenties (figure 5.7). As we have already seen, since the 1890s, both Riemann and Aubry had been independently working out two very different solutions to troubadour and trouvère rhythm, Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit*, a systematic theory of medieval rhythm, and Aubry's 'mensural theory', resulting from his narrower but more focused study of thirteenth-century French sources. No one at the time was as familiar as Aubry with musical sources of troubadour and trouvère song. But no one was as familiar as Friedrich Ludwig with manuscripts of medieval polyphony. Although in general Aubry and Ludwig agreed on a good deal of issues regarding editing medieval music, the latter followed the German philosophical-historical school, whereas the former adhered to the Solesmes school of musical philology and palaeography. Indeed, Aubry wished to produce for vernacular music what Solesmes had for plainchant, and, around 1904, was beginning to formulate a solution to trouvère rhythm loosely based on Perne and Coussemaker's mensural – rather than Riemann's text-based – approach.[50] Just as Aubry and Riemann were beginning a public debate on the question of trouvère rhythm, the young Beck, who probably had been inspired to a certain degree by Ludwig (he more than likely heard his lecture at Strasbourg in the autumn of 1905), was starting work on a new theory of rhythmic interpretation for troubadour song; it was essentially a compromise between Aubry's and Riemann's, the perfect wedding of the two text-based and mensural approaches discussed in the previous chapter.

And here is where bad timing took over, for both Aubry and Beck were eager to publish a definitive theory of rhythmic interpretation, each for different reasons: Aubry, to challenge the older and well-published Riemann, and Beck, to make his first scholarly mark. To make matters worse, Beck and Aubry happened to meet in the course of their research in Paris in 1906, and, in what seems to have been a fairly amicable exchange, they discussed some of the finer points of their work; Beck later claimed that he had corrected Aubry. Then, in the spring of 1907, Aubry received a letter from Ludwig, which was prompted by Beck's report, since Ludwig was one of his dissertation readers. Ludwig criticized Aubry's earlier publications for failing to detect the 'modal rhythm' latent in non-mensural polyphonic notation.

Between 1905 and 1907, then, Aubry was hearing from various German critics: in a more public, published forum from Riemann, in private communications from Ludwig and in casual conversations from Beck. Aubry responded in June of that year, and published what he called a 'critique of Hugo Riemann's system'. He proposed a new alternative to rhythm in



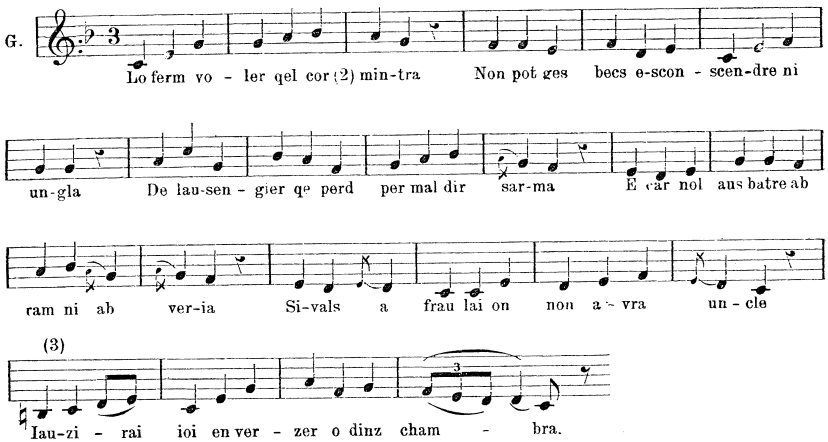
Figure 5.2: Portrait of Friedrich Ludwig

trouvère song: a revision of his earlier interpretations which now recognized latent rhythm, partly inspired by Ludwig and Beck's comments even though he did not cite them in his text. It was clear that, to a certain extent, Aubry had acted on German criticism without giving his critics complete credit. Ludwig, Beck and Riemann were bound to respond in self-defence, and so they did – probably beyond anything Aubry expected.

What happened next could be described as a race to see who would be recognized as having discovered latent rhythm in troubadour and trouvère song. In July 1907, Beck publicly accused Aubry of plagiarizing his 'modal theory' (so named for the first time); in response, Aubry simply ignored the angry graduate student, hoping the matter would be forgotten. But Beck was unrelenting in his public accusations of plagiarism in the following two years. Seeing this, Aubry decided to teach him a lesson and called a trial of French scholars to decide the question of who was the inventor of the 'modal theory' (or latent rhythm approach), Beck or Aubry. Aubry was fully confident that his scholarly reputation would persuade his countrymen. So it was to his and many others' amazement when, on 29 June 1909, a jury of six French scholars, in the only civil tribunal held over a musicological issue, unanimously declared Aubry guilty of plagiarizing Beck. Furthermore, the jury required Aubry to publicly retract previous statements at his own expense. Suddenly betrayed by the French scholarly community whose esteem he had worked so hard to gain, Aubry moved from disbelief to intense bouts of depression. When Riemann and Ludwig finally joined the fray in August–September 1910, Aubry gave up hope of ever recovering his scholarly dignity. He apparently contrived his own death, fencing unprotected in a routine practice that same month. The shocking outcome did no good for Beck, who, it was rumoured, was somehow linked to Aubry's death; some even said Aubry was preparing to duel with him, but this was only a fiction started to save both Aubry and Beck's honour.[51] Shunned by certain prominent European academics, Beck emigrated to the United States where he remained for the rest of his career.

What had been the academic bone of such contention? A convenient and common answer is the 'modal theory'. However, this expression is a misnomer. Although it was convenient for later writers (especially advocates of different editorial approaches) to speak of a single modal theory, there were really multiple modal approaches, even by single advocates. It would be more correct, therefore, to speak of several modal theories in the twentieth century.

To begin with, Ravallière, Fétis, Perne, Coussemaker and Restori had all to some extent applied (or at least suggested the application of) the rhythmic

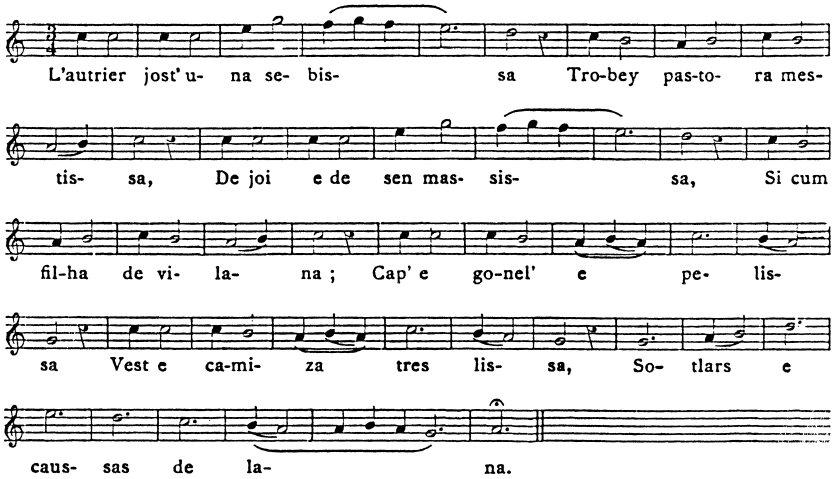

G.
Lo ferm vo - ler qel cor (2) min-tra
Non pot ges becs e-scon - scen-dre ni
un-gla
De lau-sen - gier qe perd
per mal dir sar-ma
E car nol aus batre ab
ram ni ab ver-ia
Si-vals a frau lai on non a - vra un - cle
(3)
Iau-zi - rai ioi en ver - zer o dinz cham - bra.

Example 5.2: Restori's 1896 rendition of Arnaut Daniel's *sestina*

patterns found in mensural music to non-mensural melodies. Example 5.2 contains Restori's edition of Arnaut Daniel's *sestina*, for example, whose original notation was given earlier in example 1.4.[52]

Aubry's self-designated 'mensural interpretation', prior to his acceptance of latent rhythm in 1907, owed much to these earlier attempts, with the difference that he was more conversant with both troubadour and trouvère sources and Franconian rules of mensurality; as a follower of the Solesmes school, Aubry carefully copied the sources just as they were, and applied Franconian mensural theory as literally as possible. All consecutive *longae* he rendered as ternary and the last note of a ligature was longer than the rest; if the notation did not show alternating *longae* and *breves*, he did not impose a rhythmic structure. Consequently, Aubry favoured editing the few extant measured readings such as those in chansonnier O or troubadour chansonnier R. His 1904 rendition of Marcabru's *pastorela* from that source illustrates this literal approach (example 5.3; see example 1.5 for original notation). The rhythmic mode or pattern is broken up in Aubry's edition by his interpretation of the ligatures at the end of each line, at 'bissa' and 'massissa', especially. His literalness shows up especially at the final line 'Sotlars e causas de lana', where the original's sudden change to consecutive *longae* is followed even though this ruins the song's rhythmic continuity.[53]

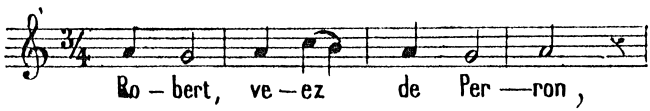
Aubry's interpretation changed after he had accepted Ludwig's concept of latent rhythm. His edition of the very same tune five years later reduced the ligature values and ignored the last line's *longae* so as not to disrupt the modal flow (example 5.4).[54]


L'autrier jost' u- na se- bis- sa Tro-bey pas-to- ra mes-
tis- sa, De joi e de sen mas- sis- sa, Si cum
fil-ha de vi- la- na ; Cap' e go-nel' e pe- lis-
sa Vest e ca-mi- za tres lis- sa, So- tlars e
caus- sas de la- na.

Example 5.3: Aubry's 1904 transcription of Marcabru's *pastorela*


Vif.
L'autrier jost'u - na se - bis - sa Tro - bey
pas - to - ra mes - tis - sa, De joi e de sen mas -
- sis - sa, Si cum fil - ha de vi - la - na; Cap'e
go - nel' e pe - lis - sa Vest'e ca - mi - za tres -
- lis - sa, So - tlars e caus - sas de la - na.

Example 5.4: Aubry's 1909 transcription of Marcabru's *pastorela*



Example 5.5: Beck's 1910 reading of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Robert veez de Perron'

By this time, Aubry and Beck had independently formulated an approach to the editing of rhythm which they felt satisfactorily reflected the mensural evidence while enabling a universal application to non-mensural troubadour and trouvère songs. They both agreed on the general lines of the modal interpretation which they each had proposed separately in the summer of 1907, although Beck provided a more definitive exposé in his *Die Melodien der Troubadours* (1908). Here is a summary of the tenets of this early modal theory:

(1) Later mensural rhythm is latent in earlier non-mensural notation.[55] Proof are the handful of later mensural melodies and songs in motets.
(2) This latent rhythm occurs in regular durational patterns which coincide with poetic accent. Both Old Occitan and Old French poetry frequently exhibit a regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables which corresponds to the melodies' long and short durations.
(3) It follows that latent musical rhythm can be extrapolated through poetic rhythm. This is done by counting backwards from the last (in oxyton verse) or penultimate (paroxyton verse) syllable; lines with an even number of syllables begin with an upbeat and odd-numbered ones on the downbeat.[56]
(4) Most troubadour and trouvère songs most frequently use one of three rhythmic modes. Modes 1 and 2 typically occur in poems with lines of seven and eight syllables, while mode 3 is usually found in lines of ten syllables.

Beck lucidly illustrated this using a song by Thibaut de Champagne in which the long and short durations followed the accent of the phrase, 'Ro**bert** ve**ez** de **Per**ron' (RS 1878, with the longer duration in bold letters) (example 5.5).[57]

Aubry was capable of similar editions, such as his mode 1 rendition of the 'Gaite de la tor' refrain (example 5.6) whose original notation is given in example 1.7.[58]

At this point, a modal theory may have been outlined, but it had yet to be tested on the entire corpus of either troubadour or trouvère songs. By this time already, the newly founded theory was known to have some initial shortcomings, however. First off, the poetic rhythm was not always


Animé.
Gai - te de la tor Gar-dez en - tor Les
murs se Deus vos voi - e Cor sont a se - jor Dame
et sei - gnor Et lar - ron vont en proi - e.
Hu et hu et hu et hu de l'ai ve - u La
jus soz la cou - droi - e Hu et hu et
hu et hu A bien pres l'o - cir - roi - e.

Example 5.6: Aubry's 1909 edition of 'Gaite de la tor'

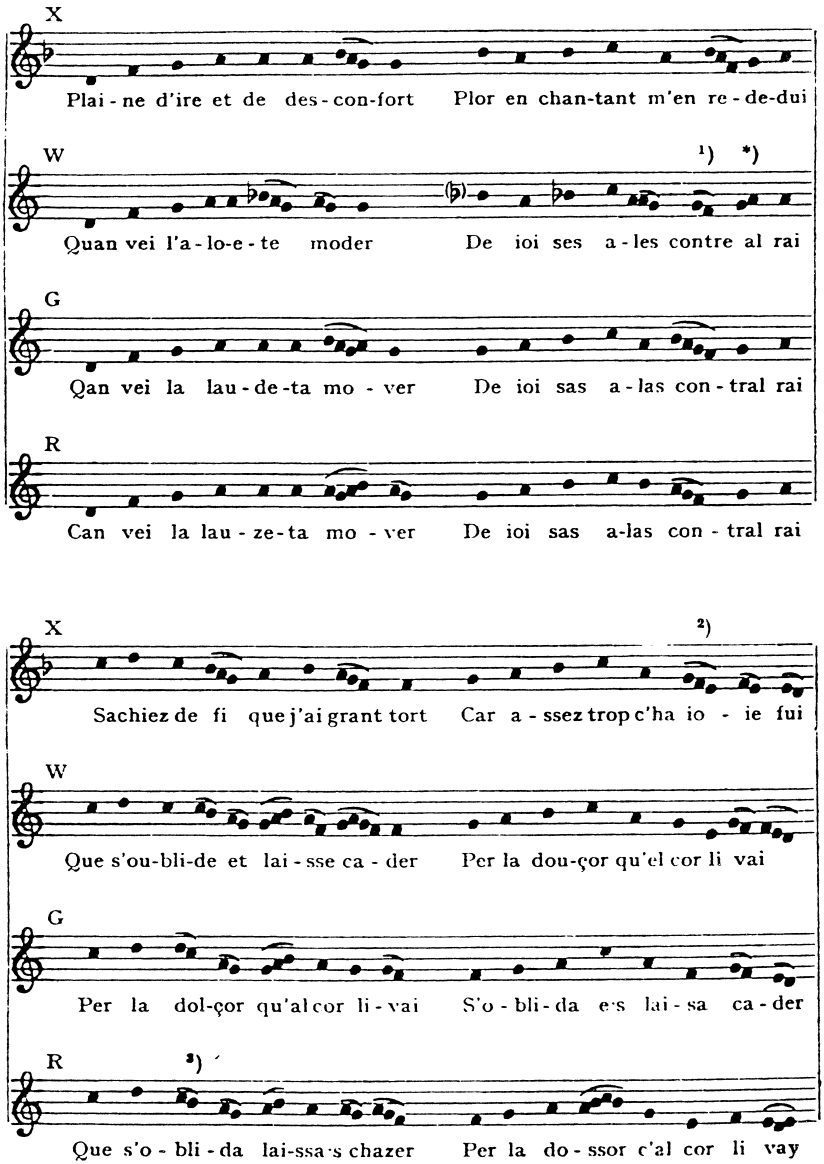
as evident as Beck or Aubry claimed it to be, even in medieval measured readings. There was furthermore no common consensus among philologists on the question of poetic rhythm. The first line of Thibaut's song just cited, for example, might arguably just as easily be read in rhythmic mode 1: '**Ro**bert **ve**ez **de** Per**ron**'. Furthermore, medieval mensural readings such as Marcabru's *pastorela* in troubadour chansonnier R or the many songs in trouvère chansonnier O, the theory's cornerstone, were not as consistent in their mensurality as Beck or Aubry would have it. Aubry had so much as admitted this in his earlier edition of Marcabru's songs discussed above.[59]

No sooner had the theory been inaugurated than it was seriously called into question. In 1909, literary scholar Carl Appel among others argued that the chosen mode sometimes did not fit subsequent strophes; musicologist

Johannes Wolf questioned Beck's interpretation of the plica as a turn. Both Wolf and Appel also brought up a troublesome quote from Johannes de Grocheio's *De musica* (cited and discussed in chapter 6, p. 269), to the effect that a certain kind of trouvère song Grocheio called a 'crowned song' (*cantus coronatus*) was rendered in perfect *longae* ('ex omnibus longis et perfectis efficitur'). These and most trouvère songs may have fallen, Wolf suggested, in the broader category mentioned earlier by Grocheio of music which was 'not precisely measured' ('non . . . praecise mensuratam'). Did this not argue, Wolf maintained, against the modal theory and imply a performance more like that of plainsong, with each note receiving an equal value? About twenty years later, Appel edited Bernart de Ventadorn's melodies in a neutral notation which abandoned the whole rhythm question (example 5.7).[60]

So it still remained to be seen, as Wolf put it, if the theory could indeed be applied with any consistency to an entire corpus of melodies. Aubry had begun an edition of chansonnier K's 500 trouvère songs left unfinished at his premature death; he had only edited 188 of its melodies.[61] Beck himself had announced a forthcoming complete edition of troubadour and trouvère melodies to take up eight volumes of a collection to be called *Monumenta cantilenarum lyricorum franciae medii aevi* (Monuments of French Lyric Medieval Songs). But the 1910s came and went and still none of the anticipated editions appeared. It was clear by 1920 that the working out of the modal approach was going to take more time than expected.

Both Beck and Ludwig were hard at work on this. I have described elsewhere Beck's unpublished troubadour edition drawn up between 1904 and 1907.[62] Presenting a total of 334 variants for 259 tunes in a synoptic layout, it reproduced the notation as found in the manuscripts (except for troubadour chansonnier X), without imposing a modal interpretation. Beck attached special importance to troubadour chansonnier R, the only Languedocian manuscript of the four, placing it first in every case. This was to be the foundation for an edition which would present all troubadour melodies in modal rhythm, in Beck's *Monumenta* cited above. But Beck was unable to produce this as quickly as he had originally thought. Although he still planned to produce his troubadour edition as late as 1919, he gradually abandoned the idea, turning instead to a broader project he named *Corpus cantilenarum lyricarum medii aevi* (Body of medieval songs), a fifty-two-volume series of facsimiles and editions of all major musical sources from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries of which only one, chansonnier O (his facsimile and commentary for M lacked an edition), was completed by the time of his death.


X
Plai - ne d'ire et de des - con-fort Plor en chan-tant m'en re - de-dui
W
1) *)
Quan vei l'a - lo-e - te moder De ioi ses a - les contre al rai
G
Qan vei la lau - de - ta mo - ver De ioi sas a - las con - tral rai
R
Can vei la lau - ze - ta mo - ver De ioi sas a-las con - tral rai
X
2)
Sachiez de fi que j'ai grant tort Car a - ssez trop c'ha io - ie fui
W
Que s'ou-bli-de et lai - sse ca - der Per la dou-çor qu'el cor li vai
G
Per la dol-çor qu'al cor li - vai S'o - bli - da e·s lai - sa ca - der
R
3)
Que s'o - bli - da lai-ssa·s chazer Per la do - ssor c'al cor li vay

Example 5.7: Carl Appel's 1934 edition of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'

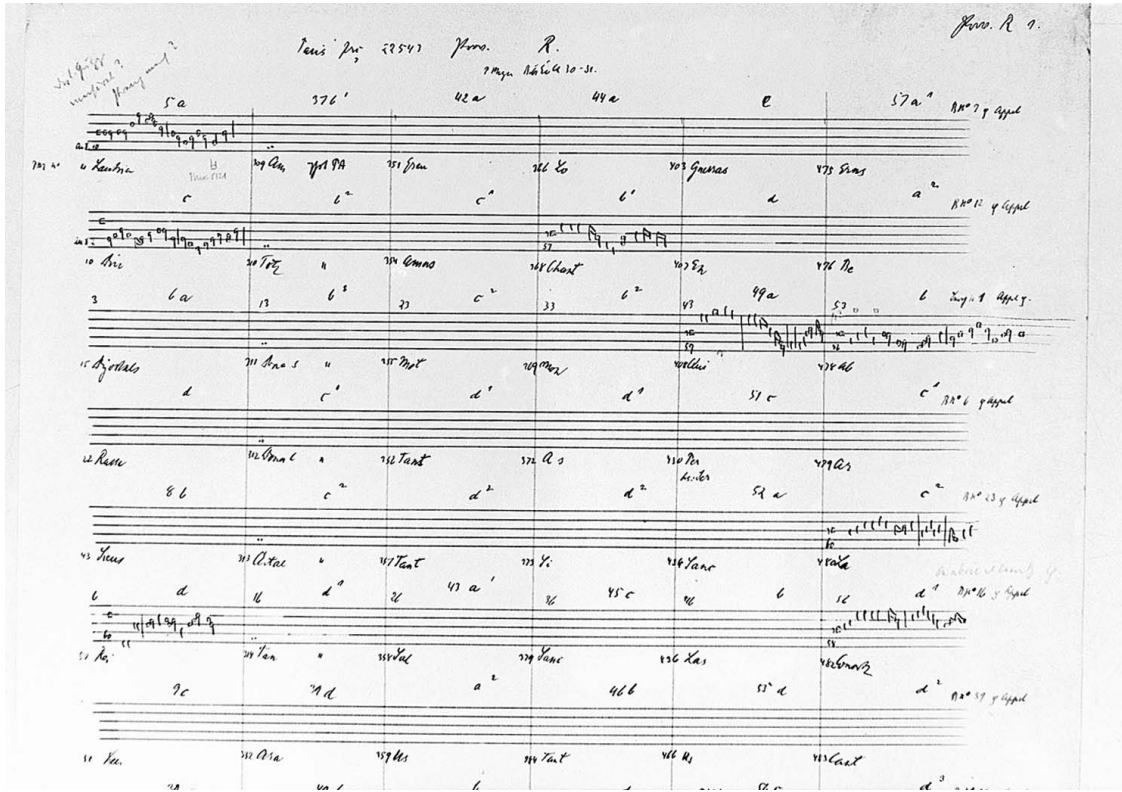


Figure 5.3: Ludwig's table of incipits for troubadour chansonnier R: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. Ludwig XI, 1, page 1

Meanwhile, Ludwig was working towards an edition of his own which was also fated to remain unfinished. Although monophonic rhythm was not his primary concern, Ludwig continued to work towards a system of troubadour and trouvère rhythm from the 1910s until his death in 1930; his notes and transcriptions cover hundreds of pages, none of which has been discussed or published until now. In typical fashion, Ludwig confronted the problem with a thorough survey of his subject, French monophonic music. He copied Gautier de Coinci's songs, most of Adam de la Halle's works, and many thirteenth-century musical interpolations and refrains, some still unedited today.[63] For troubadour songs, he copied all of chansonnier G's songs and began copying the incipits of chansonnier R's tunes.[64] The latter is laid out in a table in Ludwig's inimitable scrawl. In the first page given in figure 5.3, the first incipit for Marcabru's *pastorela* in the upper left-hand corner lists the folio number (5a, top middle), first word, and number in a list of R's songs drawn up earlier by philologist Paul Meyer ('Meyer' 4 and 'Lautrier', bottom left).[65]

This particular incipit illustrates the care with which Ludwig transcribed the notation as found in the medieval source; in this case, it happens to be mensural, which is probably why he copied it down.

The very same method ruled Ludwig's more extensive copies of trouvère songs, for which he apparently planned to produce a definitive critical edition. His preparatory work for this edition included inventories with incipits of chansonniers A, M and O, copies of fragments and an index of *jeux-partis*, mostly from the 1910s.[66] Following this, he began copying down some 570 trouvère melodies, working away at this project off and on during the 1920s.[67] All of these except three were copied down as notated in the manuscripts, that is, without imposing modal rhythms.[68] Ludwig seems to have felt that the modal theory had yet to be adequately worked out, and that this working out would need to take as its sole starting point the extant mensural evidence rather than poetic rhythm as with Riemann and Beck. Beck had imposed rhythms which were not found in medieval musical sources, and Ludwig more than likely felt that this was prematurely confident. Ludwig's approach had the advantage of dispelling doubts by examining only exant mensural evidence. This approach had served him well with polyphony, where he had worked out the application of modal rhythms to non-mensural notation based on parallel readings between organa and later motets. In his trouvère edition, therefore, Ludwig carefully noted where mensural readings occurred. Sometimes these were in motets, as with 'Orendroit plus' (RS 197, cited in table 1.8), where he

added the motet voice reading at the bottom of the page of his edition. At other times, these occurred in chansonniers, and it was this evidence which interested him most. In order to understand it thoroughly, he based his edition entirely on chansonnier O, the one manuscript with copious mensural notation, fleshing its readings out with other readings or variants where he felt necessary. But as he copied, the inconsistent mensurality was becoming apparent, since he transcribed the melodies just as he found them in O; even where *longa* and *brevis* no longer regularly alternated (which was the case in over half of O's melodies, as described in chapter 1), Ludwig refrained from imposing a modal pattern. One case at least caused him frustration, Thibaut de Champagne's 'Por conforter mon corage' (RS 237) where chansonnier T offered an atypical measured reading where O did not (examples 1.1 and 1.2). After copying this reading exactly, Ludwig expressed his surprise by simply writing in the top margin 'Pb11 [chansonnier T], mensural!' (figure 5.4).

There is no question that Ludwig believed in latent modal rhythm as the key to editing troubadour and trouvère melodies, and that is precisely why he kept working at it. Just how this was to be done, though, apparently continued to trouble him. Clearly he was dissatisfied with the solutions proposed by Aubry and Beck and perhaps did not trust their inferior knowledge of medieval polyphony. Above all, Ludwig wished to work his own method out for himself, holding his breath until he had examined every scrap of evidence. But he never finished his examination, and Ludwig's exact conclusions about a modal interpretation of troubadour and trouvère rhythm were never fully laid out – at least, not in print.[69] It is possible that, having studied troubadour and trouvère melodies so closely for so long, Ludwig felt that a unified system of mensural rhythm for medieval monophony could not be scientifically deduced from the extant sources; certainly he was not confident enough about this to publish it in his own lifetime. As he admitted to one of his last students, 'the application of modal rhythm is an objective and scientific solution to a subjective problem'.[70] Still by 1950, no complete edition of troubadour or trouvère melodies had appeared in print.

Ludwig's apparent premonition about the impossibility of an unambiguous and unified modal theory of medieval rhythm was confirmed as the twentieth century progressed.[71] Ludwig's student just mentioned, Higinio Anglés, advocated not only mixing modes but metres as well. This idea had come to Anglés, 'like a heavenly vision', as he put it, while preparing his monumental edition of the *cantiga* repertoire in the late 1930s.[72] He felt

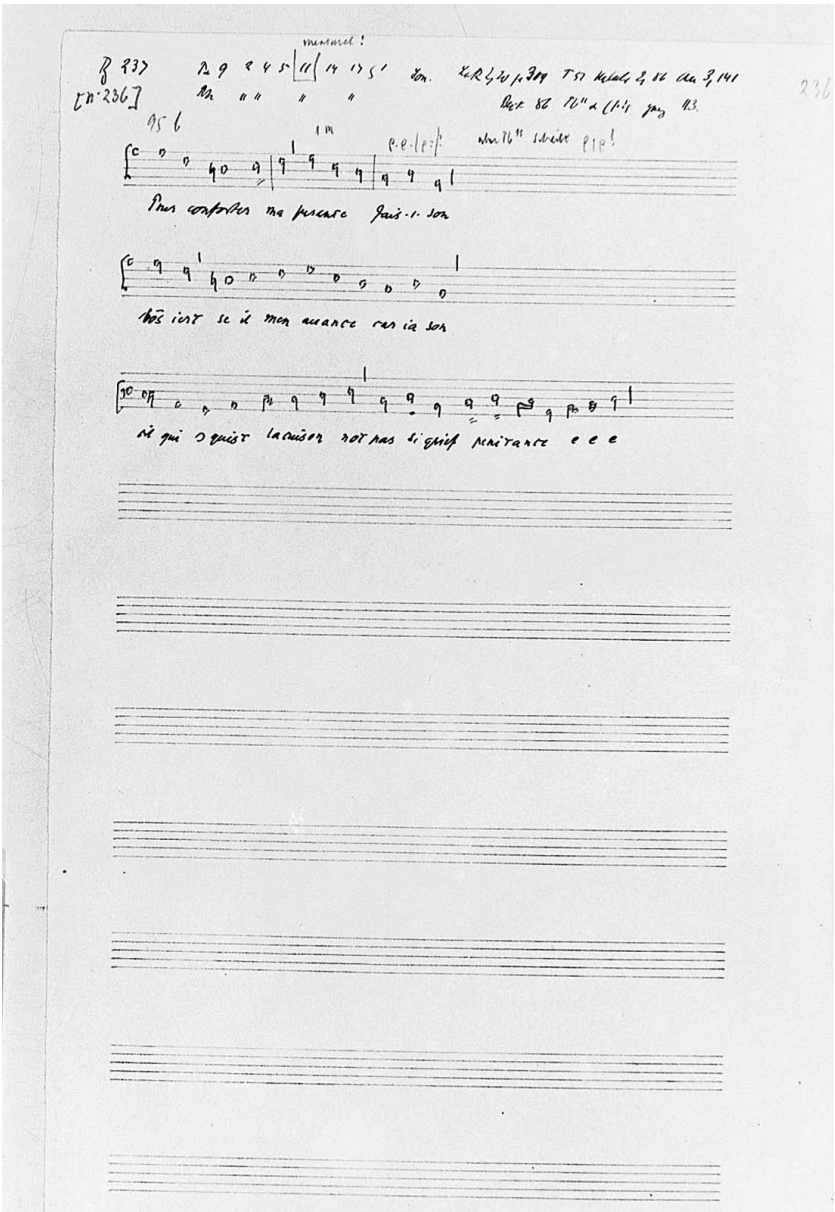


Figure 5.4: Ludwig's copy of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Por conforter' from chansonnier O: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. Ludwig XII, page 4

that both troubadour and trouvère melodies made use of a freer adaptation of the rhythmic modes than previously thought, a change which may have reflected Ludwig's later thinking. Anglés' revelation had, in fact, already dawned on Beck a few years earlier. After a study of thirteenth-century polyphony, Beck had revised his modal theory to include the use of mode 5 and duple metre; his edition of chansonnier O's melodies in 1927 reflected this change.[73]

A widening of parameters characterized modal interpretations in the course of the century. The most prolific advocate up until around 1960 was Friedrich Gennrich (figure 5.5), a fellow student of Beck's. Gennrich had been perfecting his modal theory from the 1910s on; in truth, he sought to revise Ludwig's conception of it.[74] Following Ludwig, Gennrich treaded recklessly into all areas of medieval monophonic music, investigating not only Old Occitan and Old French melodies, but looking into the same melodies used in other repertoires (*contrafacta*) for a possible solution to the rhythm quandary.[75] The resulting system, published in 1954, was an intricate system of '*ars antiqua* rhythm' which made use of various combinations of musical and poetical metres to account for 'a rich abundance of rhythmical possibilities' in the Middle Ages, while still retaining most elements of the early modal theory as summarized above. In this new theory, a medieval song could now select from a larger palette of six rather than three rhythmic modes; these furthermore could be freely combined depending on word accent and the tonal structure of individual ligatures.[76] The time of strict modal usage had passed; as Gennrich said, certain songs could no longer 'be squeezed into one of the six modes without doing damage to both text and music'.[77] With such latitude, however, system lapsed into subjectivity. Gennrich's complete edition of troubadour melodies published in 1958–60 illustrated editorial choices not even accounted for in his *ars antiqua* rhythmic system. For Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Non es meravelha' (PC 70,31), for instance, as for all his troubadour songs, he first sketched out the extant versions from troubadour chansonniers G and W in synoptic format, just as Restori and Beck had done (figure 5.6).[78] Gennrich's final version is loosely based on these unpublished sketches: its opening fourth clearly follows G's reading, but by the end of the first phrase, at 's'eu chant', he seems to have had more W in mind.[79] The text is borrowed from neither of these two chansonniers, but follows a critical edition which Gennrich did not cite.[80] As for the rhythmic interpretation, he has freely combined modes 2 and 3 throughout this song. The result is a troubadour song tailor-made for the twentieth century.



Figure 5.5: Portrait of Friedrich Gennrich

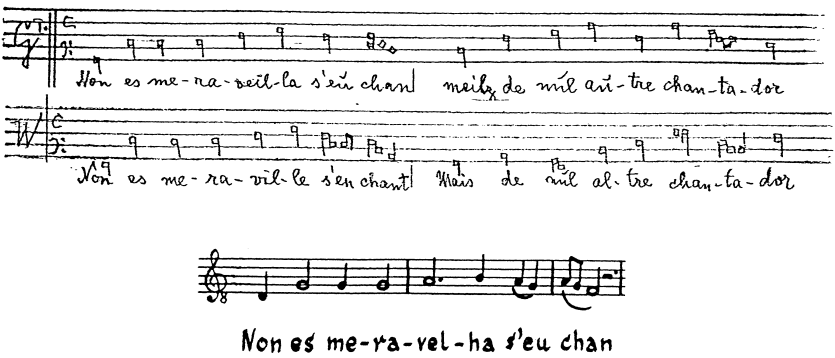

Non es me-ra-veil-la s'eu chan meilz de mil au-tre chan-ta-dor
Non es me-ra-vil-le s'eu chant Mieis de mil al-tre chan-ta-dor
Non es me-ra-vel-ha s'eu chan

Figure 5.6: Gennrich's sketch and final version for Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Non es meravelha', incipit (courtesy of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt-am-Main)

The influence of the modal interpretations of troubadour and trouvère song would be felt until the end of the century and continues to this day. To be sure, advocates in the latter part of the century were fewer than in the first half, although it would be unfair to state that Hans Tischler has been the only one.[81] Late twentieth-century proponents of latent rhythm in the non-mensural notation of troubadour and trouvère songs include Jean Maillard, Ewald Jammers, Bryan Gillingham, David Wulstan and Robert Lug, with several books on the subject and the promise of more to come; other editors such as Marcia J. Epstein and Gérard Le Vot have used it on occasion.[82] Certainly the most outspoken advocate in more recent times has been Hans Tischler who in 1997 produced the first critical edition of trouvère melodies in fifteen volumes. By his own admission, Tischler has used the arguments made by previous advocates of latent rhythm: the connection of poetic stress and musical duration, the importance of *contrafacta* and a certain flexibility which allows changes of mode, sometimes within a single line.[83] 'It must be kept in mind', Tischler emphasizes, 'that most transcriptions present only one of several possible solutions, but hopefully a viable one'.[84] On the one hand, Tischler's editions present the reader with the continuation of a century-long tradition of modal interpretations as in his edition of 'Gaite de la tor' which uses rhythmic mode 1, just as Aubry had at the beginning of the century (example 5.6 above). One might even say, along with Gérard Le Vot who has also followed this same interpretation in this song, that this rhythmic mode is naturally suggested

by the regularly recurring 'u' refrain. On the other hand, different modal interpretations of the same piece exist, as in Tischler's recent edition of Thibaut de Champagne's *Cantus coniztus* 'Dieux est nihsi' which he edits in mode 6 rather than Beck's mode 3.[85] Over the course of the century, the disparity of modal interpretations became the source of some cynicism; some editors of music histories and anthologies even took to presenting various editions of the same tune in synoptic format.[86]

It was this increasing lack of scientific consensus, much like that which had plagued interpretations of plainchant in the nineteenth century, which eventually led to a full-scale rebellion against the modal theories. One of the most prolific and outspoken opponents of modal interpretations in Old Occitan and Old French monophony has been Hendrik van der Werf, who has argued that modern readers need to resign themselves to the fact that the rhythms of troubadour and trouvère song cannot be known, the proof of this being the multiplicity and discord of modal approaches. He and others maintain that it should be clear by now that the medieval poets declaimed their songs in a free rather than a strict rhythm. The adaptation of this idea to editing songs was anticipated in the 'rhythmically neutral' format used by Appel, which van der Werf adopted in his many editions of troubadour and trouvère songs produced in the 1970s and 1980s.[87]

David Wulstan has recently pointed out that the modal theory has been something of a straw man, and this is true, but not so much for the medieval evidence he adduces as for the fact that, as I have already mentioned, there never was a single modal theory, the straightforward method Ludwig originally envisioned which could be deduced and applied like a scientific law.[88] It splintered instead into a multitude of modal techniques too flexible to fit under one definition. This has been the source of disappointment and frustration especially after 1960. At the end of the century, the scientific solution to the old antiquarian-philological rhythm quest had still gone missing.

Some of the first to be dissatisfied with the modal theory were its own advocates. It is an irony pointed out many times that one of the earliest signs of discontent came from Beck himself, although, as I have already mentioned, dissenting voices were heard beginning with Appel; even earlier than this, Gustav Jacobsthal also believed that medieval monophony could not be rhythmically translated at all, against Perne's earlier ternary approach. The entire anti-modal current in the twentieth century may be seen as a series of attempts to replace the dissatisfying modal approaches

with something else of equal scientific validity: Wolf and Appel's suggestion that these songs were 'not precisely measured' in 1909, Appel's plain black notes in the 1930s, Ugo Sesini's isosyllabic approach in the 1940s, Heinrich Husmann's chronological restriction of modality in the 1950s, Hendrik van der Werf's declamatory theory in the 1960s and 1970s, and John Stevens' isochronous approach and Christopher Page's high and low style dichotomy in the 1980s, to name the principal ones.[89] These different scientific approaches have in common a negation of a 'modal theory'. Yet they all have had more in common with modal theories than might at first seem to be the case. The vigorous debate between Hendrik van der Werf and Hans Tischler in particular has underlined the earnestness with which a scientifically valid solution was sought by both parties.[90] Modalists and anti-modalists alike have attempted to answer a single question which went at least as far back as Enlightenment readers, from Crescimbeni to Laborde, but further back than this yet, to Fauchet, to the anonymous Milan manuscript Renaissance transcriber and to the different readings of medieval chansonniers, to name but a few cited in this book: How should these songs be read in our times?

It was somehow forgotten in the zealous discord over historical rhythm and non-rhythm just how much the twentieth century was preoccupied with present readers of this 800-year-old music. The fascinating songs of the troubadours and trouvères continued to inhabit the present as living antiquities, to be reinvented in the present tense, as they had in the earlier Petrarchan debate, the *genre troubadour* or in Romantic archaeologies and philologies. This is evident in the stress on current performances which regularly slipped into the academic debate surrounding the question of medieval rhythm.[91] To cite but a few writers:

> I do not accept the reading of certain German metricians (Walter Niemann, Hugo Riemann, etc.) who adopt a trochaic scansion of this iambic rhythm . . . this interpretation confuses the two modes (Pierre Aubry).
>
> But if one takes the trouble to sing along with Thibaut de Champagne [as follows], the result is not so unpleasant (Jean Beck).
>
> One should study first and foremost the text and one should develop a rendition designed not so much to sing a song but rather to recite, or declaim, a poem to an audience while freely making many nuances in stress and duration (Hendrik van der Werf).
>
> Anyone who studies a large number of these songs without preconceptions but with open eyes and ears will come to recognize the relationship of poetic meter and

musical rhythm, the coordination of verse and phrase . . . as indicators of rhythm (Hans Tischler).[92]

As so often in the past, medieval singer and modern interpreter had collapsed into one and the same person.

OF HISTORICAL AND CAFÉ CONCERTS

This preoccupation with actualizing troubadours and trouvères was more obvious still in that other region of the musical academy, performance practice. The twentieth century presented a unique tension between the old desire to freely re-create old songs and the relatively new attitude now called historicism.[93] Arising out of the old archaeologies and philologies, historicism differed from previous attitudes towards past musics in that it firmly placed the past over the present. As Fétis put it, 'the Gothic will outlast the New which now flourishes'.[94] William Weber has documented the early stages of this development with the canonization of Lully, Handel and Corelli in eighteenth-century England and France.[95] This phenomenon flourished in nineteenth-century Europe with the historical concert: Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Alexandre Choron and François-Joseph Fétis drew small audiences for exclusive concerts of unknown older music. These Romantic visionaries helped their audience escape contemporary music to a superior past, ranging from Baroque instrumental music all the way back to sixteenth-century vocal polyphony. The latter became especially popular in Germany with the rise of choral groups, including those led by Heinrich Bellerman in Berlin and his student Gustav Jacobsthal in Strasbourg.[96]

A few historical performances of troubadour and trouvère music took place in the nineteenth century thanks to the new interest surrounding Adam de la Halle. Earlier arrangements of trouvère songs by Ravallière, Moncrif and even Laborde which I have discussed seem to have been intended for a mostly literary audience which had no interest in performance. Nothing is known of performance contexts – if there were any – for Perne's arrangements of the Châtelain de Coucy's songs; here again, we may assume that Perne the archivist produced arrangements for readers rather than listeners. The earliest documentation of such performances survives, not surprisingly, thanks to Fétis. To begin with, although his 'concerts historiques' featured mostly Baroque and Renaissance music, the strange old sounds sometimes inspired listeners to imagine an even earlier time. When the poet Alfred de Vigny heard late medieval Italian dances and *laudi* performed at Fétis' historical concert in 1832, he was led

to imagine an earlier time: 'As I listened, I imagined beautiful princesses with lowered eyes and sweeping dresses, standing tall while shyly receiving avowals of love'.[97] Fétis waited several decades to finally arrange for piano Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, although he had edited 'Robin m'aime' as early as the 1850s. His arrangement was performed in 1872 for the Société des Compositeurs de Musique. Julien Tiersot produced an arrangement of the *Jeu* for orchestra which was performed at a festival in Adam's honour at Arras in June 1896. Both accompaniment and staging of the Tiersot arrangement had suppressed and added material to the medieval version; the orchestral accompaniment was, in Tiersot's words, 'as discrete as possible'.[98] It is significant that both of these late Romantic performing editions were, like Perne's arrangements, more informed by a 'Moncrif style' than anything else, for this was the most significant tradition of interpreting these songs. The few performances of troubadour and trouvère songs given in early twentieth-century Europe also betrayed a great debt to Moncrif. The setting of 'Reis glorios' in example 5.8 by early music pioneer Emil Bohn was performed at an academic conference in Breslau in May 1902 under the direction of troubadour scholar Carl Appel. Breslau had been the site for several decades already of what Bohn called 'historical concerts' of music ranging from Renaissance vocal polyphony to the present.[99] Bohn was now reaching back even further to the musical past, guided by Restori's work on troubadour music discussed earlier. But here the music historian had to resort to a more imaginative approach than that used in his renditions of Renaissance and Baroque music. Since it was impossible, he stated, to recover medieval accompaniment, he would provide an arrangement he deemed suitable 'for the modern ear'.[100]

Bohn's arrangement equally points out some of the difficulties with which the science of philology could not deal. To put it bluntly, one could not produce troubadour music with the same kind of historical verisimilitude as troubadour texts. Hearing troubadour and trouvère music was different from just reading it and would require a different approach.

The historical concert was creating a new expectation of hearing music in the twentieth century which was about to come to loggerheads with the old 'Moncrif style'. Increasingly, what Kay Shelemay has recently called the 'Lost World' of early music was being brought to a wider audience, such as those sitting in the Paris Conservatoire and the Salle Ventadour listening to Fétis' renditions of Baroque and Renaissance music. Archaeological musical monuments were exhumed, dusted off and prepared for the museum of the concert hall. But this 'music of back then' needed to somehow appeal to


1. Reis glorios.
Guiraut de Bornelh.
Langsam.
1. Reis glo - ri - os, ve - rais lums
2. Bel com - pan - ho, en chan - tan - -
3. Bel dos com - panh, tan soi en
p
1. e clar - tatz, Deus po - de - ros, se-
2. vos a - pel: non dormatz plus, qu'eu
3. ric so - jorn qu'eu no vol - gra mais
p

Example 5.8: Emil Bohn's 1902 arrangement of Guiraut de Bornelh's 'Reis glorios'

its current audiences, to paraphrase Shelemay.[101] The notion that somehow it could be otherwise, that somehow audiences could even briefly eclipse the present and experience a titillating brush with the past, belongs to the twentieth-century haggle over authenticity.[102] The real question was, and continues to be, just how should the intertwining of pasts and presents be effected?

For troubadour and trouvère songs, twentieth-century historical performance looked especially to two familiar answers: folk songs from the south of France and the music of the Middle East. These answers were reassuring because they were part of two long traditions which I have already detailed. The appeal to southern songs went back to Montaigne's *villanelles* of Gascogne and to the subsequent use of *airs languedociens* described in chapters 3 and 4. As for Orientalism, it was a specifically eighteenth-century development which had inspired Fétis, as discussed in chapter 4 (p. 187). These approaches were implemented on the basis of presumed historical connections, that is to say, one usually linked troubadour and trouvère songs with their contemporary medieval folk and Arabic counterparts. But the reference with which one usually ended up was invariably contemporary. It was contemporary, not medieval Arabic and Languedocian music which held the key to relishing medieval sounds. Twentieth-century listeners and performers fell back on these two comfortable old traditions which made the unfamiliar – with the new prospect of recorded sound – familiar.

These developments coincided with Europe's increasingly war-torn state and the rise of the United States of America as an international political and cultural force. So it was that an extensive tradition of performing troubadour and trouvère songs in the twentieth century occurred in what was, at the beginning of the twentieth century at least, an unlikely place: the New World.[103] To be sure, Europe continued its tradition of historical performances during this period with such ensembles as the Chanteurs de Saint Gervais and Jacques Chailley's Psallette de Notre Dame, but the American influence even at this early stage is worth noting: the Paraphonistes de Saint Jean-des-Matines in Paris and the Pro Musica Antiqua in Brussels were both founded by American immigrants, William Devan and Safford Cape, respectively.[104] From its very founding, the United States had taken its cue from European culture, with artists and scholars making regular pilgrimages for cultural enlightenment, such as the many musical students of Nadia Boulanger. For performers of early European music, especially, the European tour was for most of the century a necessary rite of passage. As one performer recently put it, 'I knew I had to go to Europe';[105] and

back from this pilgrimage, the New World could offer to the performer a perfect place for a fresh rethinking of Old World songs. This ritual was initiated by some timely but unexpected Franco-American exchanges at the very beginning of the twentieth century.

The eminent Harvard historian Henry Adams seemed an unlikely candidate to be involved in medieval music performance since he was not a musician by trade; his important role in this regard has only recently been uncovered by Sigmund Levarie.[106] Adams' work as a medievalist had included work on Anglo-Saxon law and thirteenth-century Chartres. Around 1910, a quarter-century after his wife's tragic suicide, Adams, then over seventy years of age, began a relationship with Aileen Tone, a singer and pianist in her mid-thirties, for whom he purchased a Steinway piano which he placed in his library at her disposal. Tone had been introduced by folk-song specialist Kurt Schindler to Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin's *Echos du temps passés*, whose first volume opened with four trouvère songs.[107] She presented these to Adams in the winter of 1912. Adams, who through his long work on medieval France was well acquainted with the trouvères' poetry but not their music, looked with fascination at these old songs and with even greater interest at Weckerlin's references to medieval chansonniers from which he had copied the notation; their existence came as a revelation to Adams.[108] Beginning with the Châtelain de Coucy's 'Merci clamant de mon fol errement' (RS 671), Tone sang these trouvère songs for Adams who was overcome by the curious melodies which 'end with their tails in the air', in his words.[109] Assuming that 'no one has ever cared enough to reproduce their musical notation', he resolved to search the manuscripts himself in Paris where, along with Tone and a few other friends, he would 'set up a College of the Twelfth Century'. He was especially set on finding the music of Richard the Lionhearted's 'prison song' ('Ja nus hom pris') which he called 'the oldest and greatest monument of English and French literature'; he vowed to search all over Europe for it.[110] He and Tone began consulting what experts they knew and eventually spent the spring and summer of 1913 hunting in libraries and conservatories in Paris and the provinces. In his Paris quarters at Avenue Montaigne, Adams and his friends formed what he called in a letter a 'Scuola Cantorum for the twelfth century', copying songs from chansonniers in the Bibliothèque nationale.[111]

Tone, Adams and their friends had come to the source, and did indeed find the music to 'Ja nus' and many other songs as well. They had also hoped to find the spirit as well as the substance of trouvère song; as Adams put it, 'here, on the edge of Normandy, Cœur-de-Lion is much more alive than

Mr. Lloyd George'. The lion-hearted king's ghost may have been roaming the Norman coast, but his ancestors were apparently unaware of it. To their surprise, Tone and Adams found what they felt was a marked apathy for medieval song in France (despite the generous assistance of scholars such as Amédée Gastoué), with the result that 'our great success is our twelfth century music, and is all our own, for the French know less than we do about it; we have seen and done lots, and keep it all to ourselves'.[112] Once a visitor whom Adams described as 'a wild Armenian Jewess' accompanied by a harpist came to their Paris apartment 'singing troubadour songs to show us how they should be done'. Adams described it as 'quite amusing', but agreed with the others' consensus: 'we were rather inclined to like our style best, because least professional'.[113] So Adams' companion Aileen Tone became an early music performance expert by default, developing over the years a repertoire of some seventy trouvère songs which she performed regularly, usually improvising her own accompaniment at the piano, an activity that continued after Adams' death in 1918.

An earlier visitor to the Adams home, this time a scholarly expert in troubadour music, had made a much better impression than the Armenian singer, and may have in part inspired Tone and Adams in their quest for troubadour and trouvère music. Prior to leaving for France, Tone and Adams had met with the recently immigrated Jean Beck whom they had heard lecture in Washington one evening in February 1913. Afterwards, impressed by Tone's singing and Adam's interest, Beck accompanied them home where, after dinner, the 'wild French organist', as Adams called him, 'went on all the evening playing and lecturing'.[114] More than likely, Beck was instrumental in pointing Tone and Adams to the right places for their French tour later that year.

Indeed, by this time already, Beck was responsible for his own performance tradition of troubadour and trouvère songs. While studying in Paris between 1899 and 1904, he had made a living as a church organist. A nail injury to his left hand subsequently cut short any prospects as a full-time performer, and he began doctoral work in Romance philology shortly thereafter. But his interest in musical performance never waned, and his choice of troubadour music as a specialty seems to have been determined partly by its performance potential. Beck developed a special fascination with medieval instruments; in fact, several volumes of his *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi* were to be devoted to this topic.[115] From the very beginning of his professorial career in the autumn of 1911, Beck integrated performance in his study of troubadour and trouvère songs. He lectured frequently and

accompanied himself, although he usually preferred to have someone else do the singing.[116] One of his lecture-concerts, given at Philadelphia in January 1923, was entitled 'The Long Lost Music of the Troubadours' and included Beck's performances on the 'citola and the flagelette' as reported in the *Public Ledger*.[117] The programme for one such concert in 1930 survives and lists the following items, realized by different singers and accompanied by Beck:

1. *Belle Doëtte*, Weaving Song	Anonymous (1150)
2. *The Song of the Lark*	Bernart de Ventadorn (1155)
3. *Love Lament*	Raimbaut de Vaqueyras (1190)
4. *Prison Song*	Richard Lion Heart (1200)
5. *The Flajolet*	Colin Muset (1230)
6. *The Lover Fool*	Anonymous (1240)
7. *Robin and Marion*	Adam de la Hale (1275)
8. *Ce fut en mai*	Moniot d'Arras (1260)[118]

A few years after his encounter with Tone and Adams, Beck met a performer who greatly impressed him. As it happens, Aileen Tone had also heard this performer, but her reaction differed markedly from Beck's. Upon hearing the great Yvette Guilbert during the summer of 1914, Tone was, as Henry Adams approvingly noted, 'disgusted'.[119]

This is not surprising, for Yvette Guilbert's performance of trouvère songs differed from Aileen Tone's more 'classical' approach. From the 1890s on, Guilbert had made a reputation singing popular songs in the Paris café-concert scene, where vocal skill mattered less than conviction and dramatic rendition of the text. A seamstress by training, Guilbert built up her reputation by adding respectable numbers to her repertoire, performing in the best venues and touring internationally; as one journalist put it, she 'was proof that out of democracy could come the aristocracy of art'.[120] In the late 1890s, Guilbert first came to New York to perform the café-concert repertoire which she soon mixed with earlier historical repertoires she had been discovering. *Musical America* wrote in 1906 of Guilbert's latest accomplishment, that 'she has devoted herself for the last few years to art of a much higher standard. It is as an illustrator of old French songs that she comes here this year'.[121] These were seventeenth- and eighteenth-century songs, but soon Guilbert would go further back yet to the Middle Ages, and, from around 1910 on, she was making something of a specialty of including a limited number of trouvère pieces in her repertoire culled from various editions available to her. For example, her 1911 collection of 'chansons anciennes' contains two trouvère songs, actually the two Enlightenment



Figure 5.7: Portrait of Jean and Louise Beck and Yvette Guilbert at the beach, around 1920

imitations from Moncrif's *Choix de chansons*, 'Las! si j'avois' and 'Ha! belle blonde'. Yvette Guilbert had come by the trouvères not by the usual literary scholarly path, but circuitously, in the school of the hard knocks of practical performance.[122]

It may come as something of a surprise that Professor Beck was impressed by the performances of this café-concert singer. But Beck himself happened to have personal ties to the café-concert repertoire, ones to which he never alluded in print; this is understandable at a time when popular music was not a thing for a scholar to mention, let alone study. In an unpublished letter from his widow Louise Beck to Jeremiah Ford concerning Jean Beck's obituary, Louise wrote that her late husband was the leader of a café-concert orchestra in Paris, around 1900, and that this activity had ceased along with his organ playing following the aforementioned hand injury:

Of course, it was to music that he turned in his lean student days to stretch his shrinking purse. For a time he lead [*sic*] an orchestra in a Café Concert, in Paris. Then came the period when he directed his 'Tournée Classique', a venture

that ended in complete disaster. His troupe played classic drama in the environs of Paris and throughout the provinces. At least his artistic soul had tried its wings![123]

Popular and folk music would remain one of Beck's enduring interests, as he sought to connect them to medieval song. He worked extensively on transcribing sound recordings of French-Canadian folk songs and Nootka (aboriginal Canadian) songs, and for a time he was musical editor of the *Folk-lore Journal*.[124] Beck enthusiastically endorsed Erich von Hornbostel's ongoing project of recording folk songs from around the world, writing at one point that 'Hornbostel's material will be invaluable for the whole field of ethnological musicology'.[125] He saw a direct connection between the café-concert repertoire and the troubadours. In one lecture-concert entitled 'La chansonnette française au dix-neuvième siècle', Beck described 'that other class of troubadours', singers of the café-concert scene; he illustrated this talk by assisting in performances of such hits as 'Bonjour Mimi' and 'Mon p'tit américain', showing that his days as a café-concert leader were not completely forgotten.[126] What Beck admired in Guilbert therefore, was not so much her knowledge of medieval song, which was certainly less than his, but her expertise as a seasoned café-concert singer, her powerful gift to make vivid the narratives of her songs, regardless of the period, as well as an innate sense of text declamation and interpretation. As he saw it, the latter might provide insights into the rhythm of other repertoires. Beck wrote to a friend in 1917:

> I plan on visiting Yvette Guilbert in New York for a few days to study her rhythmic interpretation [of French folk songs]. . . . There is no other singer which I know who has a better insight into spontaneous rhythm intrinsic to melody than Yvette; this is a gift of nature perfected by study. I am absolutely certain that her interpretation will give us precious indications, if not final solutions to most of the difficulties of rhythm.[127]

Beck was speaking here of folk song, but he clearly had an eye to medieval song as well.

So the collaboration between Beck, the erstwhile café-concert artist turned scholar, and Guilbert, the bona fide café-concert artist, was not so unlikely after all, and it resulted in some of the earliest performances of troubadour and trouvère songs in the 1910s and 1920s. Following several international tours which had included the United States, Guilbert began to consider developing her following in that country which, though uncouth, seemed to offer certain possibilities. The New World would be the perfect location for Guilbert's brain-child, a school-salon for the propagation of her art as *diseuse*, which she imagined as follows in 1916:

There shall be every incentive toward brilliancy of conversation – and Americans have much need to acquire this faculty – and occasion to perform unfamiliar music, such as the old French songs of Jeanne d'Arc's time, artistic dances and plays . . . I find that Americans, for all their innate brightness, are not taught how to think, how to study.[128]

It would be several years before her dream would come true, but later that year, Guilbert met Beck, then teaching at Bryn Mawr College, and they immediately connected. Beck introduced her to many more troubadour and trouvère songs he himself had been performing, and the hard-working Guilbert learned them quickly. Beginning in the summer of 1916, Guilbert and Beck appeared together at Bryn Mawr, and other opportunities quickly followed in the New York area especially, many at colleges or Alliance Française meetings.[129] The New York City *Evening Post* reported the 'amusingly Gallic moments' of a November 1916 'matinée parisienne' at Maxine Elliott's Theatre in which Guilbert and Beck presented trouvère songs 'both for instruction and entertainment':

Each section of the programme was introduced by Mr. Beck, who described graphically the situation in the great hall of a mediæval castle during the ceremony of the knighting of the youthful heir, both the solemnities and the fun-making which took place on such occasions, each number being an illustration of his story.[130]

In another instance, on October 1917, Guilbert performed at Columbia University a programme entitled 'The Great Songs of France Reconstructed by Madame Yvette Guilbert from the Literary Monuments of the Poets: Trouvères, Jongleurs and Clerks'; a few years later, Beck would offer music courses both at Columbia and at Guilbert's newly founded school in New York.[131] Here is a sample programme from one of their performances from around 1916:

L'Art Français au Moyen-Age
Presented by Mme. Yvette Guilbert and Professor Jean Beck of Bryn Mawr College

1. Introductory Address (Beck)
2. Chansons de toile, XIIe siècle (Guilbert): 'Belle Doette' and 'Belle Isabeau'
3. Dance des jongleurs, XIIIe siècle (music by Beck and choreography by Guilbert, performed by Isabeau Renaude)
4. Littérature des clercs pour le peuple (Guilbert): lais and mystères
5. Littérature des clercs pour les savants, XIIIe siècle (Guilbert)
6. Littérature des ménestrels et jongleurs (Guilbert): jeu-parti and illustrated life of Colin Muset
7. Littérature courtoise, XIIIe siècle (Guilbert): reverdies and other songs[132]

From this period on, Guilbert made the esoteric songs of the troubadours and trouvères her own. She went on to publish a collection of forty of

her medieval favourites which included some which Beck had first studied (such as 'Robert veez ce [*sic*] Perron') and others which she had performed with Beck (such as 'Belle Doëtte').[133]

HEARING AND RE-HEARING

Beck had been fascinated with the new technology of sound recording for its potential to document living folk song. He did not have in mind performances of medieval music, since there was no tradition of recording it for most of his lifetime. But medieval music soon entered the domain of the expanding recording industry as it gradually reached out to repertoires further back in time. The earliest recordings of troubadour and trouvère songs appeared only shortly before Beck died in 1943, and this activity picked up around 1950.[134] The dilemma of sound recording was that it produced a 'sound photograph', one which, at least initially, was mostly resented by performers for its restrictions, while a few embraced it for its new capabilities. Thanks to the 'sound photograph', audiences could return to the past; it was largely responsible for one of the most important new trends in the twentieth century, the early music movement which, as the century progressed, stretched back to increasingly remote repertoires.[135]

Sound recording presented a special quandary, namely, as Daniel Boorstin has put it, that it made the experience of music-making 'fungible', that is, replayable 'in a series of closely measured, interchangeable units'.[136] The more obscure medieval repertoires accentuated this quandary. As the century wore on, hearers would become increasingly sensitized to these 'interchangeable units' as a two-fold regression, to the medieval past and to the moment at which that medieval past was interpreted. Interpreters needed to compensate for medieval monophony's special foreignness with something comfortingly familiar. The song should be as close to 'then' as possible, but there needed to be some 'now' in it too. Given these new and disorientating conditions, it is no surprise that recording interpreters of medieval monophony drew inspiration from living folk songs which, after all, were already familiar as the earliest guinea pigs in the scientific use of recorded sound.[137] Once this connection between medieval and folk songs was firmly established, a practice of recording troubadour and trouvère song would flourish. What follows is in no way a comprehensive account of these recordings but rather an illustration of recorded sound's continuity with the earlier reception I have described so far in this book.[138]

As I have made clear earlier, folk song had frequently held a special promise for troubadour and trouvère music. It was a living entity whose sound unceasingly flowed from the Middle Ages to the present – to the

Gascognese *villanelles* in the time of Montaigne, the Pyrénées peasant songs from the time of Tressan, or the café-concert repertoire which so fascinated Beck. The sound recording industry seized this promise from the beginning, for, at least until the early 1980s, the goal of recording was to 'bring the performance of this music close to the elusive original', as Thomas Binkley said.[139] One of the earliest recordings of trouvère songs (1935) was made by Swiss tenor Max Meili who performed under the artistic direction of Curt Sachs for the inaugural disk of the *Anthologie sonore* series. Curt Sachs saw this and other recordings in the same set as unearthed 'masterpieces' which lay 'buried and forgotten in the dust of libraries, museums and conservatories' – the familiar resurrection refrain used by Fauchet and others. The trouvères, Sachs went on to say, were illiterate and thus uninterested in written music. Their songs were rooted in the simple music of the people.

> This contact with the plebian strata of society gave troubadour music a somewhat popular style to which it owes much of its delightful freshness and spontaneity. Even today one may still come across Catalonian or Sardinian songs whose melodies were noted down by French troubadours seven hundred years ago.[140]

The set of Minnesinger and trouvère songs opened with Meili singing a traditional alpine benediction, a 'Swiss mountain song' whose source was listed only as 'Melchsee-Frutt, Alp of the Canton of Obwalden, Switzerland'. Meili's stirring performance of this song was followed on a later release of this record by three Minnesinger and three trouvère tunes, a mini-narrative which implied the by then well-known circular sequence that trouvère songs flow from living folk traditions which lead straight back to medieval song.[141]

Thereafter, folk song was a frequent inspiration for interpreters of medieval monophony. This was spurred on in the 1950s not only by the growing discontent over the modal theories (viewed by some as overly academic), but by the increasing interest in the phenomenon of orality in medieval literature and music. Hendrik van der Werf would soon write of the 'trouvère chansons as creations of a notationless culture'.[142] Scholars turned to popular and folk singers of their day as models for medieval performance, preferably singers uncontaminated by academic study, such as mystic poet and singer Lanza del Vasto.[143] One could speak of a veritable movement of folk-influenced medieval renditions by the 1970s. This was inspired by the American folk music movement of the decade prior, Wilfrid Mellers' 'new troubadours'. While American performers of medieval music turned to Europe, the international dominance of the American folk music scene from the 1960s on precipitated a reverse trajectory: its tremendous

influence soon overshadowed medieval music performance, and now interpreters of the old troubadours looked to the new ones. The results of this medieval–folk intercourse were least noticed in the United States whence the folk movement had sprung and most felt in Europe where medieval monophonic traditions were still viewed as living repertoires. 'Minne-rock' and 'Oc-rock' flourished in the 1980s as did the meeting of 'medieval and metal', as Robert Lug has put it, in the last decade of the twentieth century.[144]

Of all folk musics, that of contemporary Occitania held a special fascination, a carry-over from earlier preoccupations with *airs Languedociens* and *villanelles* of Gascogne. Founded in 1970, the group *Les musiciens de Provence* 'undertook a detailed reconstitution' of 'popular instruments of Provence' which they used in recordings of troubadour and trouvère songs; their impressive array of instruments included the *galoubet* (three-holed pipe) and Provençal *tabor* (drum). The prolific American Thomas Binkley and his Studio der Frühen Musik, in a clear departure from their usual historicizing efforts, turned directly to folk tradition with the assistance of Claude Marti, a singer from Occitania, in their collaborative *L'agonie du Languedoc* (1976). According to the liner notes, Marti ('not a worldly man') 'teaches in a village school and during the summer season he sings nightly in concerts throughout the South'; he 'sings about minorities that have been forbidden cultural rights'.[145] On the recording, Marti, accompanied by a guitar, sings troubadour poems for which no original melodies survive 'in his own style':

> When Claude Marti is singing these texts he is thinking of today's Languedoc, striving once again after seven centuries, for its deserved cultural independence which was lost in the Albigensian Crusade. We hope that his unusual combination of musical genres will . . . direct the attention to the continuity of this forgotten culture.

At the same time, this is a self-consciously a-historical effort, for the notes conclude: 'This recording is not a song recital: it is an attempt to portray the art and the feelings of a civilization about to die'. Indeed, in the Studio's version of Peire Cardenal's 'Tartarassa ni voutor' (PC 335, 55), a *sirventes* aimed at corrupt politicians and clergy around the time of the Albigensian Crusade, the words have an uncannily contemporary ring.

Binkley's effort may have been ironic in tone, but Austrian early music scholar and performer René Clémencic's *Troubadours* released the following year was all earnestness. Unlike Binkley, Clémencic felt that 'a satisfying reconstruction of medieval performance practice . . . is never possible'.[146]

The exchange of an historicizing exactitude for a freer approach paradoxically lent the Clémencic Ensemble's 1977 *Troubadours* an even greater historical verisimilitude. In the words of a literary scholar at the time, this recording of the troubadours was 'on many counts, *the best yet* . . . a collection of performances worth many times their weight in books and articles on the subject'.[147] Clémencic looked to French folk music performance rather than the historical instruments advocated by some. Many of the instruments used were those of local folk musicians rather than their medieval counterparts, such as the *galoubet* (used by *Les musiciens de Provence*) or *bûche* (a plucked zither also known as the *épinette des Vosges*). Native Occitan speakers – that is, descendants of the troubadours rather than conservatory-trained North American singers – were chosen to recite the *vidas* and *razos* (medieval commentaries) interspersed between songs. The whole sequence of readings and performances, with its seemingly random improvisations and occasional glitches, exuded a contagious energy, and with dramatic results. The rendition of 'A l'entrada del tens clar' was the most vibrant so far: from its opening's frantic, whispering bells to the closing crash, the 'rock-like drive'[148] of its crazy cacophony threw the listener into an enticing medieval-present. Later groups such as the Boston Camerata would continue to rely on native Occitan speakers in their recordings of troubadour music.[149]

No less influential in recordings was Orientalism. As described earlier, the theoretical foundation for this had been laid at least as early as the early eighteenth century with literary theories on the Arabic origins of medieval song. It would be a far bolder step to realize this in recorded sound, and so the process occurred gradually. One of the first to explore the 'Arabic hypothesis' in historical performance was early music pioneer Arnold Dolmetsch who visited Morocco in 1929 to listen to live performances of North African music. Henry George Farmer writes of that visit:

> On one such occasion he was asked to play something on the lute from his own land. Among other items which he and his son Carl played in response to that invitation was the music of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. The old blind Moorish lutenist who led the native musicians hailed the music with delight saying, '*I know that tune*, only we would embroider it thus.' The item was then performed in the Moorish way . . .[150]

It was as earlier proponents of the 'Arabic hypothesis' such as Fétis George Farmer had been saying for some time: the West had met the East and had found itself. Noah Greenberg's New York Pro Musica suggested the power of a few Eastern sounds in early music when they used 'Arabian nakers

[drums] . . . and jingles, and Near Eastern finger cymbals' in their 1958 performance and recording of the *Play of Herod*.[151] Remembering the landmark performance, audience member Albert Fuller simply sighed, 'What a trip!'[152] And what an eclectic trip it was: in addition to nakers and jingles, the eleventh-century Beauvais play featured a fifteenth-century trumpet from Siena and angels in costumes modelled after a Botticelli painting, the whole whirling with bright costumes within the cool walls of the Romanesque Cloisters in New York City. Under Greenberg's direction, the trip to the past that was early music could not afford to be 'dry', it needed to be 'wet – wet and juicy', in the Pro Musica's agent Ronald Wilford's words.[153]

For the Orientalist approach as for the folk one, recording artists in the historicizing tradition played into contemporary trends. In the 1960s, the Beatles went to India, Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones to Morocco, and Yehudi Menuhin recorded with Ravi Shankar.[154] The fascination with the East in recorded sound had reached a high point in 1970, and it was around this time that the 'Arabic influence' was popularized in early music recordings by Thomas Binkley and David Munrow, in particular. Binkley and the Studio der frühen Musik initially formulated a theory of a medieval Arabic performance style on the Latin Carmina Burana and Minnesinger repertoires in 1964 and 1966, respectively. Troubadour music would prove better suited to Orientalism, as a spree of literature advocating the Arabic influence on troubadour songs had emphasized between roughly 1930 and 1960, and these works partly inspired Binkley and his Studio der frühen Musik's landmark *Chansons der Troubadours* in 1971. David Munrow formed the Early Music Consort of London in the 1960s with a view to integrating his collection of instruments from around the world in early music performance. Munrow saw in the Middle Ages potential for an untapped audience to experience 'a kind of nostalgia for a largely imaginary past, for better and brighter epochs, for times when life was more wholehearted'[155] – a stereotype well attested throughout this book. The same year as the Studio's *Chansons der Troubadours*, Munrow's Consort released an album of troubadour and trouvère music, *Music of the Crusades*.[156] The listener could hear, among others, a Turkish shawm and mid-eastern nakers. Munrow justified this in the liner notes:

> The returning Crusaders brought back with them some of the Saracen instruments, new to Europe. The sound of the oriental shawm . . . is to be heard in the streets of Istanbul to this day, whilst the nakers are still used in that city's countless night club bands. Shawms and nakers were the principal military instruments of the Saracens and a band of them must have sounded terrifying as well as deafening to the early Crusaders.

Munrow's liner notes went on to explain that 'age-old traditions of performance surviving in countries such as Turkey and Arabia' had assisted the Early Music Consort of London in reconstructing a Crusade-influenced medieval sound using drones, percussion, interludes and improvisation, which were essentially the same claims made by the Studio der frühen Musik.

From these landmark efforts, the Orientalist and folk approaches have received continued attention in the ongoing recorded tradition of troubadour and trouvère music, as can be heard in the more recent efforts of Symphonie and the Boston Camerata, for example. In the newly created sound world of the medieval Arabic style, *'ūd* (lute), *bendir* (frame drum) and *darbukka* (goblet shaped drum) resonated with vielle, flute and harp.[157] The influence of these approaches can be in part measured by the backlash they provoked when Christopher Page and other performers proposed a return to an unaccompanied and unornamented style of singing, more reminiscent of earlier efforts of Russell Oberlin and Max Meili. Page's 'high style' of performance drew on yet another tradition, that of English choral singing – one whose historiography was vital to its historicization.

NOTES

1. 'Dweller of the Land of *Oc, méridional* my brother, do you not know that we are all rich and musicians? Rich in words and musicians with sentences'; Claude Marti, *Ombres et lumière: Chroniques 'Sol y Sombra' d'un témoin de ce temps* (Toulouse: Loubatières, 1998), 22.
2. Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*; the paperback edition was published in 2000.
3. The C.R.E.M.M.-Trobar (Centre de Recherches et d'Expression des Musiques Médiévales-Trobar), founded in 1978, now located in Pennautier near Toulouse.
4. Gérard Zuchetto, *Terre des troubadours, XIIe–XIIIe siècles: Anthologie commentée* (Paris: Max Chaleil, 1996), 14. See Wendy Pfeffer's review of the CD-ROM version of this book in *Tenso* 15 (2000), 55–7.
5. François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Grammaire romane, ou grammaire de la langue des troubadours* (1816; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1976), 11.
6. See Haines, 'The First Musical Edition of the Troubadours', 351.
7. Ida Farnell, *The Lives of the Troubadours* (London: D. Nutt, 1896); Justin Harvey Smith, *The Troubadours At Home: Their Lives and Personalities, Their Songs and Their World* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899); Henry John Chaytor, *The Troubadours of Dante* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1902) and *The Troubadours and England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923).
8. C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958; first published in 1936), 4. Two pages earlier,

Lewis writes: 'Everyone has heard of courtly love, and everyone knows that it appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc'.

9. Ezra Pound, *The Spirit of Romance* (Norfolk, Conn.: J. Laughlin, 1952), 41; the original edition was first published in 1910.
10. Ronnie Apter, *A Bilingual Edition of the Love Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn in Occitan and English: Sugar and Salt* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1999), 262.
11. *Who Was Who in America, 1961–1968* (Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1968), vol. 4, 372 (Grandgent); *Who Was Who, 1951–1960* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1961), vol. 5, 203–4 (Chaytor); *Who Was Who in America, 1943–1950* (Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1950), vol. 2, 484. On Pound and Shepard, see Stuart McDougal, *Ezra Pound and the Troubadour Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 3–4; the name is Shepard, not Shepherd, as McDougal has it.
12. Margaret Switten, *Music and Poetry*, especially 53–152.
13. Luciano Alberti, *Music of the Western World*, trans. R. Pierce (New York: Crown, 1974), 58.
14. Theodore Finney, *A History of Music*, rev. edn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), 80.
15. James Francis Cooke, *Standard History of Music* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1936), 30.
16. Citations in Haines, 'Arabic Style', 369–70.
17. Donald Grout, *A History of Western Music*, 3rd edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 66.
18. Marion Bauer and Ethel Peyser, *How Music Grew: From Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1936), 96.
19. Walter Morse Rummel, *Hesternae rosae* (London: Augener, 1912–13), vol. 2, citation from unnumbered preface; the music is reprinted in Peter Whigham, ed., *The Music of the Troubadours* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Ross-Erikson, 1979), 81. Another example can be found in Darius Milhaud's setting of Jean Valmy-Baysse's translation of Bertran de Born's 'Rassa, tan creis' (PC 80,37) from the 1930s, with a characteristic straightforward tonality and lilting compound metre; this is Milhaud's *Trois Chansons de Troubadour*, op. 152b, in Milhaud, *Mélodies et chansons, piano et chant* (Paris: Salabert, 1991), 85.
20. See figures in William Paden, *An Introduction to Old Occitan* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1998), 340–1.
21. William Calin, *Minority Literatures and Modernism: Scots, Breton, and Occitan, 1920–1990* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 191–272; Calin, 'Occitan Literature Today: Cultural Identity and the Sense of the Past', *Tenso* 11 (1995), 64–77, and Catherine Parayre, '*Lo Libre dels grands jorns* de Jean Boudou: Poésie des troubadours et revendication culturelle', *Tenso* 15 (2000), 118–26.
22. Pagnol also directed his own films. See François de la Bretèque, 'Images of "Provence": Ethnotypes and Stereotypes of the South in French Cinema', in *Popular European Cinema*, ed. R. Dyer and G. Vincendeau (London: Routledge, 1992), 58–71.

23. Max Wheeler as cited by Paden, *Introduction*, 341, note 7.
24. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), vol. 18, 589.
25. Edward Jablonski, *Irving Berlin, American Troubadour* (New York: Holt, 1999); Mary Aldin, 'Way Down Yonder in the Indian Nation: Woody Guthrie, an American Troubadour', in *Hard Travelin': The Life and Legacy of Woody Guthrie*, ed. Emily Davidson and Robert Santelli (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1999); John T. Howard, *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour* (New York: Tudor, 1934); Ronnie Pugh, *Ernest Tubb, The Texas Troubadour* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).
26. Wilfrid Mellers, 'The New Troubadours: Reflections on Pop and Modern Folk Music', *Musicology* 2 (1965), 3–12; see his later reflections on the transformed Dylan in his 'God, Modality, and Meaning in Some Recent Songs of Bob Dylan', *Popular Music* 1 (1981), 142–57.
27. Switten, *Bibliography*. Excluding those which look at both repertoires, I have counted 54 troubadour against 37 trouvère items in 'Anthologies and Editions' (Switten numbers 215–69) and 144 troubadour versus 38 trouvère items in 'Specific Studies' (numbers 447–655).
28. Doss-Quinby *et al.*, *Songs of the Women Trouvères*; see Switten, *Bibliography*, 147.
29. Howard McKinney and W. R. Anderson's *Music in History: The Evolution of An Art*, 3rd edn (New York: American Book Co., 1966), 140 ff.
30. Using the same criteria as above, there are twenty-six troubadour versus six trouvère recordings in Switten numbers 811–58.
31. As an example, see Petit de Juleville's *Histoire*, cited earlier; to cite but two studies of folk song previously mentioned, Coussemaker, *Chants populaires des flamands*, and Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire*.
32. Beck, *Die Melodien*, 193–4.
33. Georg Schläger, review of Beck's *Die Melodien* in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 30 (1909), col. 283: 'ganz erstaunlich frische Weisen'.
34. Pierre Aubry, *Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française*, Mélanges de musicologie critique 4 (Paris: Welter, 1905), 11. See Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory', note 7, Alexander Rehding, 'The Quest for the Origins of Music in Germany Circa 1900', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53 (2000), 372–7, and Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention*, chapter 1.
35. Friedrich Ludwig, 'Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiete der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte', *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Munich) 14 (18 January 1906), 107b; translated in Haines, 'Friedrich Ludwig's "Musicology of the Future"'.
36. Wilhelm Meyer, 'Der Ursprung des Motetts' reprinted in Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, 303–4.
37. See chapter 4, pp. 168–9.
38. Meyer, 'Ursprung,' 325; Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica*, vols. 20 and 21, *Cantiones et muteti: Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895), especially vol. 20, 8–16.

39. H. E. Woolridge, *The Oxford History of Music*, vol. 1, *The Polyphonic Period, Part I: Method of Musical Art, 330–1400* (London: Oxford University Press, 1901).
40. Ludwig, 'Die Aufgaben', 107b.
41. The following paragraph is a summary of arguments made more extensively in Haines, 'Friedrich Ludwig's "Musicology of the Future"'.
42. See Droysen's reaction to Hegel's death in Günther Nicolin, ed., *Hegel in Berichten seiner Zeitgenossen* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1970), 490; on Ranke's legacy in Droysen, see Hans Schleier, 'Ranke in the Manuals on Historical Methods of Droysen, Lorenz, and Bernheim', in *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, ed. Georg Iggers and James Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 111–16; in general, see Pinson, *Modern Germany*, 115.
43. Ludwig, 'Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter, II: Die 50 Beispiele Coussemaker's aus der Handschrift von Montpellier', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 5 (1903), 186.
44. Ludwig, 'Die Aufgaben', 107b.
45. Wilhelm Meyer, 'Der Ludus de Antichristo und über die lateinischen Rhythmen', in Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 1, 243–333 especially (originally published in 1882); Meyer, 'Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rythmischen Dichtung', in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, 2–3 (originally published in 1885). Of the voluminous literature on this topic at the time, see Gaston Paris' *Etude sur le rôle de l'accent latin dans la langue française* (Paris: A. Franck, 1862); Adolf Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, 3rd edn (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894; 1st edn, 1880) and Franz Saran, *Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1904). Beck relied extensively on Tobler's work (Beck, *Die Melodien*, especially 123 and 182). That this literary debate would not lose its interest for some time thereafter is clear in Margot Fassler's 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises "De rithmis"', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), especially 187, note 87.
46. Saran, *Der Rhythmus*, 79–102.
47. Unpublished letter from Johann-Baptist Beck to Wilhelm Meyer, dated 19 May 1911, first untitled page (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Cod. Ms. Wilhelm Meyer XXXIII, 1): 'Dass Sie alles, was Sie uns über mittelalter Rhythmik gelehrt haben, selbst durch minütiöses Suchen erwirkt [?] haben, das habe ich gleich von Anfang erkannt und dabei nich nur Ihre himmlische Geduld, sondern auch die Resultate bewundert, zu denen Sie ohne die Musik gelangt sind. Das ist für mich, der ich nur von ihr ausgehen zu dürfen glaubte, zuerst bedenklich gewesen, aber jetzt, nachdem ich erkennen musste, dass Ihre Lehren keine Postulate sind, sondern insofern die Kontrolle möglich ist, durch die Musik im Prinzip bestätigt werden, ist die Bewunderung nur um so grösser'.
48. Ludwig, 'Die Aufgaben', 107b.
49. See Haines, 'Modal Theory, Fencing' and 'Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory'.

50. Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques', and Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels', note 6.
51. This is how the most recent edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* still has it (Ian Bent, 'Aubry, Pierre' [New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001], vol. 2, 160–1).
52. Antonio Restori, 'Per la storia' (1896).
53. Aubry, 'Quatre poésies de Marcabru, troubadour gascon du XIIe siècle', *Tribune de Saint Gervais* 10 (1904), 108–9. See also Haines, 'Irregular Rhythm'.
54. Pierre Aubry, *Trouvères et troubadours* (Paris: Alcan, 1909), 79.
55. The term 'latent' is used by both Beck and Aubry (Beck, 'Die modale Interpretation der mittelalterlichen Melodien bes. der Troubadours und Trouvères', *Caecilia* 24 [1907], 99; Aubry, *Trouvères et Troubadours*, 27).
56. Beck admitted that philologists had not yet figured this out for texts, but that it was in fact demonstrable by musical means. His 'modal theory' was thus both a musicological and a philological solution (Beck, *Die Melodien*, 155 and 169 and following).
57. Beck, *La musique des troubadours* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), 48.
58. Aubry, *Trouvères et troubadours*, 89.
59. An even clearer example of this than Marcabru's *pastorela* is the same troubadour's 'Dire vos vuelh ses duptansa' (PC 293, 18) discussed in Haines, 'First Musical Edition of the Troubadours'.
60. Carl Appel, Review of Beck's *Die Melodien* in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 30 (1909), cols. 361–2; Johannes Wolf, 'Die Melodien der Troubadours', *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10 (1909), 129–33; Wolf had just edited and translated Grocheio's treatise in 'Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheio', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1 (1899), 69–120, with citations on 91 and 84. See also Théodore Gérold, Review of the same in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 121 (1908), 450. Appel's edition of Bernart's songs is *Die Singweisen Bernarts von Ventadorn, nach den Handschriften mitgeteilt*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 81 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1934).
61. Aubry in Alfred Jeanroy, *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal: trouvères du XIIe–XIIIe siècle, reproduction phototypique du manuscrit 5198 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: Geuthner, 1909).
62. See Haines, 'First Musical Edition of the Troubadours'.
63. These are now housed in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen as Cod. Ms. Ludwig XIII and XIV.
64. Cod. Ms. Ludwig XI, 1 (dated October 1919) and 2 (dated from 1911 on).
65. The numbering is based on Paul Meyer's itemization of troubadour chansonnier R in his *Les derniers troubadours de la Provence d'après le chansonnier donné à la Bibliothèque Impériale par M. Ch. Giraud* (1871; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), 157.
66. Cod. Ms. Ludwig XII, 1–3 (dated between 1905 and 1912).
67. Cod. Ms. Ludwig XII, 4. The original black ink layer appears to date from around 1920 (Jeanroy's 1918 *Bibliographie* is cited; RS 1440 is dated 14 October 1919); later additions date from after Hans Spanke's 1925 *Liedersammlung* was

published, since it is cited; red ink corrections also date from around this same period; and pencil additions, from the mid- to late 1920s, since Jean Beck's *Le Chansonnier Cangé* (1927) is cited; a pencil addition to RS 407 is dated 8 April 1924.

68. These are the very first tune, RS 2, after which he abandoned the idea, and RS 205 and 2108.
69. The often cited late transcriptions of Ludwig simply confirm his cautious position. Rather than propose a specific application of modal rhythm to all melodies, Ludwig typically chose extant measured readings, readings with extant mensural parallels, or what he deemed appropriate dance pieces (Ludwig in Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* [Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlag, 1924], 152–69).
70. Ludwig as cited by Higinio Anglés, *La música de las cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. 2, *Transcripción musical* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1943), 4.
71. This fruitful period of the modal theory which I am covering summarily has frequently been discussed, most notably by Kippenberg in his *Rhythmus*, chapters 3 and 4, and in Robert Lug's forthcoming *Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, vol. 1, section CI.
72. Higinio Anglés, *La música de las cantigas*, vol. 2, 9. As Anglés explains, he had studied with Ludwig in Göttingen in 1924 (p. 2). On his interpretation, see especially Anglés [Higini Anglès], 'Les melodies del trobador Guiraut Riquier', *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 11 (Barcelona, 1926), 1–78, and his *La Música de las cantigas*, vol. 3, part 2, 517–72.
73. See Haines, 'Footnote Quarrels', 118–20.
74. So writes his student Werner Bittinger, 'Friedrich Gennrich in memoriam', *Die Musikforschung* 21 (1969), 420.
75. See Ian Bent, 'Gennrich, Friederich', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 9, 653–5, and the bibliography given there.
76. Gennrich, *Übertragungsmaterial zur Rhythmik der Ars Antiqua*, Musikwissenschaftliche Studien-Bibliothek 8 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1954), 7–9.
77. Gennrich, 'Ist der mittelalterliche Liedvers arhythmisch?' 111.
78. Staat- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt-am-Mein, Nachlaß Gennrich, no shelfmark. I would like to thank Robert Lug for his assistance and Ann Barbara Kersting-Meuleman for her permission to reproduce these sketches.
79. Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours* (Darmstadt: n.p., 1958), vol. 1, Summa musicae medii aevi 3, 40.
80. Carl Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn: Seine Lieder* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1915), 188.
81. David Fallows, Review of Tischler's *Trouvère Lyrics*, in *Early Music* 27 (1999), 136.
82. Jean Maillard, *Roi-trouvère du XIIIe siècle, Charles d'Anjou* ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1967); Ewald Jammers, *Aufzeichnungsweisen der*

einstimmigen ausserliturgischen Musik des Mittelalters, vol. 1, fascicle 4 of Palaeographie der Musik, ed. Wulf Arlt [Cologne: Arno, 1975]); Bryan Gillingham, *Modal Rhythm* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1985); David Wulstan, *Emperor's Old Clothes*; Robert Lug, 'Das "vormodale" Zeichensystem der Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52 (1995), 45 and 50–1, and 'Singen auf dem Pferderücken. Indizien zur Rhythmik der Troubadours', in *Soziolinguistik und Sprachgeschichte – Querverbindungen. Brigitte Schlieben-Lange zum 50. Geburtstag*, ed. Gabriele Berkenbusch and Christine Bierbach (Tübingen: Narr, 1994), 241–57. See also Marcia Jenneth Epstein, *'Prions en chantant': Devotional Songs of the Trouvères* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), nos. 23a, 35a and 41a; Gérard Le Vot in Samuel Rosenberg *et al.*, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 191, and in Gérard Zuchetto, *Terre des troubadours*, 261; and Roger Pensom, 'Performing the Medieval Lyric: A Metrical-Accentual Approach', *Performance Practice Review* 10 (1997), 212–23.

83. Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, vol. 1, 12–28; Tischler, 'A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song', *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1992), 110; Tischler, 'Chansonnier Cangé', 77. For a helpful summary of these arguments, see Tischler, 'The Performance of Medieval Songs', *Revue belge de musicologie* 43 (1989), 225–42.
84. Tischler in Samuel Rosenberg and Tischler, *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1980), xxiv.
85. Beck, *Die Melodien*, 145; Tischler in Rosenberg and Tischler, *Chanter m'estuet*, 356.
86. For example, the *Historical Anthology of Music* presented Anglés, Théodore Gérold and Gennrich's readings of Guiraut de Bornelh's 'Reis glorios' (PC 242, 64), from troubadour chansonnier R: Archibald Davison and Willi Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 15; see also Hendrik van der Werf, *Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 36.
87. See especially Hendrik van der Werf, *Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, his *Monumenta monodica medii aevi XI: Trouvère-Melodien I* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977–79), 2 vols., and his *Extant Troubadour Melodies*.
88. David Wulstan, Review of Christopher Page's *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France* (1997) in *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), 103.
89. Wolf and Appel, reviews of Beck; Jacobsthal, 'Über die musikalische Bildung'; Appel, *Bernart*; Ugo Sesini, *Le Melodie trobadoriche*; Heinrich Husmann, 'Zur Rhythmik des Trouvèregesanges', *Musikforschung* 5 (1952), 111 and 131 especially; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1987). See also Jacques Handschin's 'Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesaenge von Bernart de Ventadorn', *Medium Aevum* 4 (1953), 75.

90. See for example Hans Tischler, review of Hendrik van der Werf's *Monumenta monodica medii aevi XI: Trouvère-Melodien I* (1977) in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979), 335–9; van der Werf, Review of Tischler's *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères* (1981) in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 539–54; Hans Tischler, 'Communications', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 341–4; van der Werf, 'Communications', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 206.
91. This has been pointed out by Hendrik van der Werf in his review of Tischler's *Chanter m'estuet* cited above, 554.
92. Aubry, *Trouvères*, 194; Beck, *La musique*, 48; van der Werf, *Chansons*, 44; Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, vol. 1, 16.
93. Harry Haskell, 'Early Music', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 7, 831–4.
94. Fétis (in 1827) cited in Robert Wangermée, 'Les premiers concerts historiques à Paris', in Charles van den Borren *et al.*, eds., *Mélanges Ernest Closson: recueil d'articles musicologiques offerts à Ernest Closson à l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire* (Brussels: Société belge de musicologie, 1948), 187.
95. William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Weber, '*La musique ancienne*'.
96. See Pamela Potter, 'German Musicology and Early Music Performance, 1918–1933', in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 94–106; Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 23.
97. Alfred de Vigny as cited in Wangermée, 'Les premiers concerts', 191.
98. See Haines, 'Paraphrases musico-théâtrales'.
99. Emil Bohn, *Fünfzig historische Concerte in Breslau, 1881–1892* (Breslau: J. Hainauer, 1893) and his *Hundert historische Concerte in Breslau, 1881–1905* (Breslau: J. Hainauer, 1905).
100. Emil Bohn, 'Zwei Trobadorlieder für eine Singstimme mit Klavierbegleitung gesetzt', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 110 (1903), 110–24, citation 112 and example 113.
101. Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds', *Ethnomusicology* 45 (2001), 1–29, citations on pp. 6 and 10.
102. See Richard Taruskin's *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), especially 3–47.
103. More generally on this phenomenon, see Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, chapter 5.
104. Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 60–1.
105. Shelemay, 'Toward an Ethnomusicology', 15.
106. Siegmund Levarie, 'Henry Adams, Avant-gardist in Early Music', *American Music* 15 (1997), 429–45.

107. Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, *Echos du temps passé* (Paris: Flaxland, [1853]), vol. 1, 4–13.
108. Letter from Adams to Ward Thoron dated 13 December 1912 (Henry Adams, *The Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. J. C. Levenson [Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1988], vol. 6, 571).
109. Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Major Phase* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1964), 538.
110. Levenson, *Letters of Henry Adams*, 571–3.
111. Letter from Adams to Mary Cadwalader Jones, dated 15 April 1913 (Levenson, *Letters*, 598). Adams used the Italian 'scuola' presumably to distance himself from the already existing Scholae Cantorum in Paris and New York.
112. Levarie, 'Henry Adams', 432–3.
113. Letter from Adams to Elizabeth Cameron dated 11 May 1913 (Levenson, *Letters*, 599).
114. Levarie, 'Henry Adams', 430.
115. See Haines, 'First Musical Edition of the Troubadours', 367–9.
116. In January 1912, for example, he went on a ten-day concert-lecture tour which included Yale and Harvard (Letter from Beck to Evarts B. Greene, archives from University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Jean-Baptiste Beck Staff appointment files, record series 2/5/6, number 19).
117. 'Troubadours First To Sing Own Songs', *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 19 January 1923.
118. 'The Troubadours of France: Illustrated Lecture Recital' dated Monday, 7 April 1930, 2:30 p.m. Photocopy, location unspecified; courtesy of Thomas Dalzell, grandson of Jean Beck.
119. Levarie, 'Henry Adams', 434.
120. Concetta Condemi, *Les cafés-concerts: histoire d'un divertissement, 1849–1914* (Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1992), 156.
121. 'Mme. Guilbert Here to Sing "Classics"', *Musical America*, 17 February 1906, 3.
122. Yvette Guilbert, *Chansons anciennes*, ed. Gustave Ferrari (New York: G. Schirmer, 1911), 2–5. See also Robert Lug, 'Minnesang: zwischen Markt und Museum', *Übersetzte Zeit: Das Mittelalter und die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer and Hartmut Möller (Hofheim: Wolke, 2001), 144–5.
123. Letter dated 6 March 1944 from Louise Beck to J.D.M. Ford; photocopy from Thomas Dalzell, grandson of Jean Beck. This information never made it into the obituary, neither was it ever mentioned by Beck in print or in any of the correspondence I have read; see Jeremiah Denis M. Ford *et al.*, 'Memoir: Jean-Baptiste Beck', *Speculum* 19 (1944), 384–5.
124. John Haines, 'Marius Barbeau and Jean Beck on Transcribing French-Canadian Songs', *Association for Recorded Sound Collections Journal* 30 (1999), 1–5. In 1920, Franz Boas asked Beck to be the musical editor for the *Folk-Lore Journal* of which he was the editor (Letter from Franz Boas to Jean Beck dated 7 April 1920, [American Philosophical Society and Scholarly Resources (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA), Boas papers, reel 81]).

125. Letter dated 4 August 1920 from Beck to Boas (American Philosophical Society and Scholarly Resources, Boas papers, reel 22). Beck is referring to Hornbostel and Otto Abraham's 1909 'Proposals' for transcribing recordings (Ter Ellingson, 'Transcription', in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers [New York: W. W. Norton, 1992], 121–32).
126. Letter from Beck to Barbeau dated 8 April 1917, p. 5 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Marius Barbeau's Correspondence, box 168, folder 57).
127. Letter from Beck to Barbeau dated 26 April 1917 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Marius Barbeau's Correspondence, box 168, folder 57).
128. Yvette Guilbert as cited in Bettina Knapp and Myra Chipman, *That Was Yvette: The Biography of Yvette Guilbert, the Great Diseuse* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 274–5.
129. Beck mentions a concert in New York (location unspecified) with Guilbert on 23 November 1916 in a letter to Marius Barbeau dated 8 April 1917, p. 2 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Marius Barbeau Correspondence, Jean Beck folder, box 168, folder 57).
130. 'Music and Drama: Une Matinée Parisienne', *Evening Post* (4 November 1916).
131. From 1919 on, Beck taught at Guilbert's school (Knapp and Chipman, *Yvette*, 275–9 and 286). Between 1920 and 1922, he taught extension courses through the anthropology department at Columbia on the 'Origin and Development of Music' and the 'History of Music' (*Extension Teaching Announcement, Afternoon, Evening, and Saturday Classes, Morningside Heights* [Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University in the City of New York]: 1920–21, p. 26, 1922–23, p. 107; my thanks to Jocelyn Wilk of the Columbia University Archives-Columbiana Library for her assistance).
132. It is dated 3 November, year and location unspecified, but prior to 1917. Letter from Beck to Barbeau dated 8 April 1917 (see note 129), p. 12.
133. Yvette Guilbert, *Chanteries du Moyen Age*, with accompaniment by Edmond Rickett (Paris: Heugel, 1926), 2 vols.
134. Curt Sachs directed Hans Joachim Moser's 1930 recorded performance of two troubadour songs for the series *2000 Jahre Musik auf der Schallplatte* and Max Meili's 1935 one for the *Anthologie sonore* series. This was followed in the 1950s by such efforts as Safford Cape and the *Pro Musica Antiqua*'s *Chansons et motets du 13e siècle* (Archiv APM 14068a, 1956) and Russel Oberlin and Seymour Barab's *Troubadour and Trouvère Songs* (Musical Heritage Society MHS 675, 1956). See Martin Elste, 'Mittelalter auf alten Schallplatten: Die Anfänge der Rekonstruktion mittelalterlicher Musizierpraxis', in *Mittelalter-Rezeption III. Gesammelte Vorträge des 3. Salzburger Symposions 'Mittelalter, Massenmedien, Neue Mythen'*, ed. Jürgen Kühnel *et al.* (Göppingen: Kummerle, 1988), 421–36, along with his 'Bildungsware Alte Musik: Curt Sachs als Schallplattenpädagoge', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 13 (1989), 207–47, and John Haines, 'The Arabic Style of Performing Medieval Music', *Early Music* 29 (2001), 369–78.

135. Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 33; Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music* (London: Verso, 1995), 12.
136. Boorstin as cited in William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), xv.
137. See Ellingson, 'Transcription'.
138. The most assiduous student in this field for the last few decades has been Robert Lug, to whom I am grateful for his generous assistance in this section. See Lug's most recent 'Minnesang' and the bibliography cited 117, note 1 and 3. A helpful recording bibliography is provided at François-Pierre Roberge's website at <http://www.medieval.org/emfaq>.
139. Binkley cited in Haines, 'Arabic Style', 376.
140. Curt Sachs, *L'Anthologie Sonore: A Synthesis of the Musical Arts, 14th to 18th Centuries* (New York: The Gramophone Shop, n.d.), 3 and 21. The three trouvère songs recorded are Blondel de Nesle's 'A l'entrant d'este' (RS 620), Perrin d'Angicourt's 'Quant voi en la fin d'este' (RS 438) and Richard The Lionhearted's 'Ja nus hons pris'.
141. *L'Anthologie Sonore*, vol. 1: *Gregorian Chant to the Thirteenth Century* (Haydn Society R54-1010, 1954). This is a re-release of two earlier recordings, *Anthologie sonore* (AS-18, 1934), vol. 2, for the trouvère and Minnesinger songs and vol. 14 (AS-289-1, 1947) for the Swiss folk song; my thanks to William Shaman for his clarification on this point.
142. Hendrik van der Werf, 'Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Culture', *Current Musicology* 1 (1965), 61–7. See bibliography and discussion in John Miles Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1985), 25.
143. Jacques Chailley in Jean Maillard, *Anthologie de chants de troubadours* (Nice: Georges Delrieu, 1957), xiii. Del Vasto's more famous companion Chanterelle del Vasto would later etch on to recorded posterity her interpretation of troubadour and trouvère songs. See Chanterelle del Vasto *et al.*, *Trouvères, troubadours et grégorien* (France: Editions Studio SM, *c.* 1958).
144. Lug, 'Minnesang', 163.
145. Studio der frühen Musik and Claude Marti, *L'agonie du Languedoc* (EMI Reflexe 063-30 132, 1976).
146. Cited in Haines, 'The Arabic style', 375.
147. Jonathan Beck, Review of René Clémencic's Ensemble's *Troubadours* (Harmonia Mundi, HM 396-8 78-761314, 1977) in *Romance Philology* 38 (1985), 421.
148. Lug, 'Minnesang', 151.
149. For instance, singer Jean-Luc Madier, who sometimes recorded with this ensemble, was raised speaking Modern Gascon, his French suffused with 'the stubborn, beautiful, archaic accent the people of the Midi have retained in their speech since the Middle Ages', as Joel Cohen puts it. Cohen continues:

'I can think of no better and more "authentic" way to recapture the savor of Marcabru's and Vidal's poems than to let Madier have a go at them'; Joel Cohen in Letters to the editor, *Historical Performance* 5 (1992), 29. The recording referred to is the Boston Camerata's *Lo Gai Saber: Troubadours and Jongleurs 1100–1300* (Erato, 2292-45647-2, 1991).

150. Henry George Farmer in Egon Wellesz, ed., *Ancient and Oriental Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 476.
151. Cited in Haines, 'Arabic Style', 370.
152. Cited in James Gollin, *Pied Piper: The Many Lives of Noah Greenberg* (Hillsdale, NJ: Pendragon, 2001), 2.
153. Gollin, *Pied Piper*, 3 and 269.
154. Haines, 'Arabic Style', n. 19; Menuhin and Shankar, *West Meets East* (Angel 36418, 1966). See also Peter Martland, *Since Records Began: EMI, the First Hundred Years* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1997), 291–8.
155. Day, *Century of Recorded Music*, 114–16.
156. David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Crusades* (Decca BOMC 20-564 ZRG 673, 1971).
157. This theme is developed in Haines, 'Arabic Style'; see also Heidi Waleson, 'Beyond Black and White', *Early Music America* 7 (2001), especially the photograph on p. 30, and Day, *Century of Recorded Music*, 174–8.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

Lo trobar reven, navèm de besonh!
Vaici mai sirventes e tenson e cançon . . .
Massilia Sound System, *Chourmo!*[1]

After maintaining eight centuries of interest, it does not seem that troubadour and trouvère music will loosen its hold anytime soon on professional or dilettante imaginations. The survival of this music as both cultural lore and object of scholarship implies a certain durability in the future. At least for a few more years after this book is published, and hopefully many more to come, people will be singing, speaking and writing about the songs of the troubadours and trouvères. Theirs is an ongoing reception to which I will return at the end of this chapter. This continuing reception has evolved over eight centuries of persistent curiosity. So it seems appropriate, even important, to summarize the fluid shape of this reception which I have detailed over the last five chapters. It offers a lesson, at times even a model for the maintenance of other older repertoires, and equally a lesson in their ontology. A good deal of earlier music cannot boast such a consistent profile over time; indeed, the survival of much old music is hardly guaranteed. For example, who today, except for a few industrious musical archaeologists, sings or even knows of the oldest notated music, Babylonian hymns from the thirteenth century BCE, some of the most prestigious and famous songs in their time?[2] In all likelihood, very few, since these songs have not been deemed worthy of the same kind of attention as that paid to troubadour song. Such is the fate of many other kinds of traditional music which have disappeared recently or are in the process of disappearing. Early music becomes famous as early music through a complex and energetic process of remembering.

Curiously, musicologists have hesitated to study exactly how medieval music has become medieval music and exactly what kind of music it has become.[3] Perhaps this is because narratives of music – new and old – depend

on the lengthy process of fabricating early music, or perhaps because the more heavily interpreted medieval songs are disregarded as impure. They are not proper to a period or even to the transition from or to a period; they are intermediate. Gaucelm Faidit's *planh* as interpreted in late eighteenth-century England, for example, is no longer purely English classical music nor is it purely Gaucelm's, but somewhere in between Gaucelm's song and our present view of it. It is beside itself; it is between itself and the self later objectively laid out and dissected in the grand laboratory of modern scholarship, the latter being the part that is safe, the part we call music history. Burney's *planh* and other songs like it lie outside conventional periods, outside official definitions, even though they possess powerful ontologies of their own, and they do so in part because their definition must resist other, prevalent currents. How Lully or Handel became 'ancient musik', as William Weber has reported, is of great importance, for many reasons and for many musics.[4] As I write this book, popular music of the 1980s has been emerging as an official category, 'eighties music', with all the official signs of its emergence, such as radio stations and films devoted to it.[5] It can now fall in the academic folder between 'classic rock' and 'punk'. It has come of age, we might say, or at least enough of an age to now be considered 'ancient musik'. The exact process of this ageing is not just one of those more obscure musicological curiosities but a crucial event in music history. This process for the troubadours and trouvères is a history in its own right which is also intertwined with medieval music history; its telling here may be seen as one answer to Mark Everist's call a decade ago for new histories of medieval music.[6]

For medieval music, of course, this ageing process covered a long period of time, which is why I have taken an unusually long view in this book. If the reader feels at times that I have overstated how troubadour and trouvère song endured over eight centuries, she may forgive my over-reaction to the persistent myth that medieval music was resurrected at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Let me state again that this was not even remotely so. Even the delusion that medieval music was just then being resurrected is not particular to that period: other writers at different times also believed this, as I have shown, notably at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Perhaps it would be more accurate for me to characterize this reception as a wave of rememberings only occasionally interrupted by comparative neglect.[7] What is important to note here is that the promise of resurrection has frequently proved attractive. What appeal is there in studying something which has always been known? How much more dramatic for someone

like Claude Fauchet to write of 'these poets which I now practically pull out of the prison of oblivion where ignorance held them shut up'![18] The reader is here invited to share a secret. The topos of exhumation not only belongs to antiquarianism and its younger sister archaeology, it generally hovers around the love of things old.

Another way of attracting attention to the past is by offering an extraordinary story which holds meaning for those hearing it in the present. As simple a tactic as this seems, it has nonetheless remained effective through eight centuries of troubadour and trouvère musical reception. If I have spent an undue portion of this book on what I have called troubadour and trouvère legends, it is not only because these stories make good reading. It is simply because they comprise so great a portion of the material that historically maintained attention. As we have seen, a legend is an exaggeration which makes vivid and ensures memorization. It is also a fascination with and a glorification of the past, which reveals a dissatisfaction with the present. By this definition, troubadour and trouvère legends not only were useful, but also constituted the single most important feature of medieval song, even when they fell upon less receptive ears from the Enlightenment's demythologizing efforts on. Generally speaking, the Enlightenment purpose was to get at the historical core. As Antoine Banier put it around 1740, the process was simply to sift the fact from the fable, the history from the machinery – just the sort of optimism that post-structuralists would later sneer at.[9] But the modern demythologization of legends was just another way of obsessing about them. In the end, regardless of the perspective, nothing made Thibaut and Tristan so permanent as their love for Blanche and Yseult (respectively). The song just accompanied the story, and this is why legends have remained so central to the reception of troubadour and trouvère music.

MEDIEVAL RHYTHM ACCORDING TO THE CHANSONNIERS AND GROCHEIO

As I explained in chapter 1, the earliest interpretations of medieval music are the medieval chansonniers. Already removed – in some cases by nearly two centuries – from the music they inscribe, the chansonniers, as the earliest surviving witnesses to troubadour and trouvère song, offer to us their own horizon of expectation. This particular horizon retains for us, on the one hand, the advantage of proximity in time to the medieval poets, and thereby a tantalizing reassurance of authenticity. This is misleading. For the chansonniers' perspective is soaked with the very specific constraints of the

writers and expected readers by whom and for whom they were made. Of special fascination to all subsequent writers and readers has been, of course, the presumed advantage of proximity just mentioned, and it has been frequently exaggerated. The assumptions produced by this exaggeration are too numerous to mention, but here is at least one. The notion, dispelled only too recently, that chansonnier U was a *jongleur* manuscript was due to the idea that the chansonnier could and should directly speak for the troubadours and trouvères, that it could and should be close enough to an autograph. The chansonnier was written on the spot, carried in a *jongleur*'s pocket, pulled out and sung from, and, who knows, maybe even touched by a trouvère as he helped our *jongleur*, thereby connecting us directly with Bernart de Ventadorn or the Châtelain de Coucy as we now breathlessly leaf through its tiny pages, or at least those of the life-size facsimile reproduction.

Thus spelled out, it becomes clear just how romantic this interpretation of the chansonnier is. While the chansonniers may possibly offer a fair image of French medieval song, we cannot adequately verify that they do. Yet, as a convenience of language, we speak of 'Marcabru's melody' or 'Thibaut singing', and so on, with not a single thought to a semantic apology in a footnote or at least a rephrasing of the above to something more space-consuming like 'the melody attributed to Marcabru'. It is so much splitting of historical hairs that needs to be avoided in order to get on with the more important business of biographic detailing, formal analysis, theoretical interpretation, or whatever else seems urgent to the scholarly mind. But this apparently slight distinction is worth making. For speaking of a melody written down around 1300 as 'Marcabru's *pastorela*', for example, is an historical blunder of the most egregious kind. A great deal dislocates Marcabru from the chansonnier codifying his music – we might say, nearly the equivalent of eight centuries. Between Marcabru's 1150s world of Gascogne and Aquitaine and troubadour chansonnier R's fourteenth-century Languedoc lie not only geography, but also several generations of troubadours and accompanying artistic trends, the advent of the trouvères and of Notre Dame polyphony and of the motet, the Third through the Fifth Crusades, the Albigensian Crusade and the ravaging of the Midi, and the founding of both the Mendicant Orders and the University of Toulouse, to name just these.[10] Although to a certain extent leaping this space is unavoidable in speaking of the troubadours and trouvères, it is imperative to recognize the actual distance between the song-makers and 'their' chansonniers.

So the important question for my earliest reception stage remains, just what kinds of limitations do these chansonniers offer to us and to future

readers? I have attempted in my first chapter to begin answering this vital question and to outline salient characteristics of the distance between the chansonnier compilers and the world they filter for us. It is clear that at least one generation of written sources of some kind predated the extant chansonniers. That is to say, the luxury anthologies were more than likely not each one produced entirely from dictation, but at least in part, and some perhaps entirely, from written sources. I hope to have cursorily marshalled enough evidence in chapter 1 for this. This evidence desperately calls for at least several more independent studies, all the more so because of the regrettable and remarkable lack of interest in this area for over a century now.[11] To summarize the evidence for some sort of written musical transmission: authorial arrangements found in many or most chansonniers which point to an order previously set in writing; references in and out of the chansonniers suggesting the existence of separate booklets for such important poets as Guiraut Riquier and Thibaut de Champagne; references both literary and iconographic referring to the process of writing; the stability of certain melodies, down to small graphic details such as plicae and ligature shapes; and erasure patterns in certain melodies which point to a literal copying of musical notes. As such, therefore, these manuscripts do not relate first to troubadour and trouvère art, but to their own idiosyncratic vision of them, which is a significant difference.

Broadly speaking, it is clear that mensural notation played some part in their conception, and this in more than one instance. It would be one thing if, of the twenty or so extant large books, the roughly 10 per cent of the melodies with measured note shapes were found in only one or two of them. But the fact that readings in some way mensural are spread out across no less than nine of the main chansonniers, not to mention the fragments and refrains (table 1.7), is something which should seize our attention, as it has for students of this music for some time now. What can and should be said regarding the minority of measured readings spread out across the chansonniers? In light of the strong feelings on either side of the long-standing debate, a conservative and cautious statement is in order, one which refrains from stretching the evidence too far one way or the other, but which nevertheless does not fail to commit itself to the evidence readily at hand.

What needs to be said with confidence is simply this, that some sort of measured reading already occurred in the very first wave of musical reception. These rhythmic interpretations are particular instances, and they are comparatively few. They do not constitute a pattern to be generalized over a large area of Europe in the Middle Ages. Neither are they aberrancies to

be disregarded in reconstructing a musical reality for medieval France from 1100 to 1200 (for example) because they are either incompetently notated or few in number, or both. One might as well throw out a good deal of early polyphonic notation for its lack of rhythmic clarity following that argument. Speaking of which, all the developments outlined in chapter 1 – the codifications of monophonic songs, of polyphonic motets, the development of 'modal' and mensural notation – all occur in books from roughly the same time period: with one or two exceptions, the last half of the thirteenth century. So it is frequently hard to establish a precise chronological development. I attempted to crystallize this situation and the potential for confusion in my discussion of trouvère songs and motets on pp. 30–32 (table 1.8). Which came first, the motet or the song? The mensurally notated motet or the non-mensurally notated song? The non-mensurally notated motet or the mensurally notated song? Not to speak of what exactly constitutes mensural in either monophonic or polyphonic notation. For most sources, dating within a few years and often within a decade is not possible. Neither, then, is it possible to establish a secure chronology by which the following narrative can be secured: all troubadour and trouvère songs were first sung in a free, declamatory style; only later, with the advent of polyphony, was mensuration (badly) imposed. Nor the following narrative: all troubadour and trouvère songs were sung in mensural rhythm since a few scribes made this explicit. Neither of these scenarios stands up to a close scrutiny of the evidence.

Further problematizing our subject is the fact that no contemporary witness reports on the rhythmic quandaries or lack of them which have so obsessed students of this music in recent times. To restate for good measure, the best that can be safely asserted is that, when our knowledge of troubadour and trouvère music begins (that is, in the second half of the thirteenth century, save for one source), scribes in a minority of instances but in sources ranging widely from Artois to Languedoc made some use of the mensural note shapes current in their day. As I see it, the most revealing aspect of this is the attempt to use a notation which had only recently been invented. Perhaps it also expressed the general manner in which Marcabru himself sang the *pastorela* or Thibaut sang his *pastourelles*; or perhaps it is a later corruption of mensural mischief-makers which in no way corresponds to the more stately and sober spirit of the late medieval *chanson courtoise*. Both hypotheses have their appeal, but neither is fully consonant with the complete array of chansonnier evidence.[12] More importantly, the use of mensural shapes or *figurae* is part and parcel of the chansonniers' late thirteenth-century-ness. It is what makes them products of their time. I covered similar aspects in chapter 1, such as the ordering by social hierarchy

and sometimes by alphabetization, or the tables delineating contents. Individual mensural readings should perhaps no more surprise us than square notation. After all, square notation was only a little over half a century old when the chansonniers were compiled, and the earliest chansonnier was not even inscribed in square notation but in Messine neumes. It is probable that some of the chansonniers' musical ancestors, fragments, booklets or the like, were written in neumes, as I have suggested elsewhere.[13] So square notation, and perhaps even its cousin mensural notation, may have been a motivation for editing chansonniers. It seems to have been the motivation for at least one Minnesinger source, the Jena manuscript, which converted the 'Gothic' notes of its source to the more prestigious shapes of French sources.[14]

As the sole possible exception to my remark in the opening of the last paragraph regarding the lack of contemporary statement on rhythm, scholars both living and dead might rise to contest with one voice: 'non ita praecise mensuratam sunt'! We have already encountered Grocheio's 'not so precisely measured' statement (chapter 5, p. 223) as well as his *cantus coronatus* (chapter 1, p. 37) from his untitled treatise usually called *De musica*, written around 1300.[15] Thanks especially to the work of Ernst Rohloff, Patricia DeWitt, Martin Bielitz and Ellinore Fladt in the twentieth century, we now understand better Grocheio's idiosyncratic use of medieval commentators on Aristotle, notably Averroes, Siger de Brabant, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas;[16] the latter three were teaching in Paris around the time when Grocheio was a student there (although he was probably not a *magister*, as the one redaction of *De musica* suggests).[17] Bielitz and Fladt zero in on a key passage near the beginning of Grocheio's treatise which positively overflows with scholastic terms; some of these were under fierce debate in late thirteenth-century Paris: the nature of the principles and the First Principle, the superiority of form over matter and the role of God as 'efficient cause' (*causa efficiens*).[18] Having summarized Pythagoras' discovery of musical intervals (*principia*), Grocheio, in two short sentences, opens a small thesaurus of scholastic terms; nowhere else in the treatise do they occur with such density:

> These [i.e., intervals], then, are the principles and matter which all musicians use, and in them form is introduced. While it is true that the result in the natural realm is called principle rather than matter, in the artificial realm, we can speak of a 'matter-principle', since it is a being in action from which artificial form derives.
>
> [Ista autem principia sunt et materia, qua utitur omnis musicus, et in ea formam musicam introducit. Licet enim in naturalibus efficiens dicatur principium plus quam materia, in artificiatis tamen materia principium potest dici, eo quod sit ens in actu et forma artis sit ei accidentalis.[19]]

Here, with breathtaking conciseness, Grocheio first seizes the Aristotelian notions of *principium* (the primary assumption), *materia* (raw material or possibility) and *forma* (resulting product, or actuality), then reorients them in an unconventional relationship which he calls *materia principium*, along the way hinting at the efficient cause (source of change) with the word *efficiens*,[20] then introducing the 'natural realm' (here, acoustics and *musica mundana*), the 'artificial realm' (performance, hence *forma artis*) and the *ens*[21] (or being, the inseparable property of a thing), which move also and finally requires him to differentiate between substance and *accidens* (the variable qualities not affecting the substance).

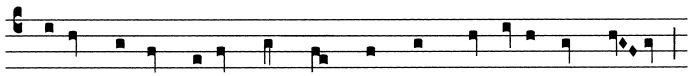
That Grocheio's erudition here seems mechanically to follow thirteenth-century Aristotelianism might seduce one into taking his later statements on performance almost literally. Grocheio does follow to a certain extent medieval (and specifically Thomistic) Aristotelianism in his effort to reconcile form and matter through the explanation of accidental change; as for the phrase *ens in actu* (which Rohloff had incorrectly edited as *sine actu*!), it was a common scholastic phrase at the time.[22] Where Grocheio abruptly parts ways with both Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, however, is in his coinage of 'matter-principle', a conflation which Bielitz calls unthinkable in scholastic terms, a 'logical dilemma'.[23] Both Fladt and Bielitz have wished to find in *De musica* a 'structure' and 'solution', respectively, which meshed with the virtuosic opening statement just cited.[24] What is striking, though, is that Grocheio's subsequent sparse and diffuse use of these terms does not live up to the promise of his dense exposition; his treatise's structure comes nowhere near that of the Anonymous of Saint Emmeram's *De musica mensurata*, for example.[25] The few occurrences thereafter of *materia, forma* and *principium* are sometimes confusing. *Materia* is first harmony, then the words of a secular song.[26] *Forma* is construed as a simultaneous interval (consonance), then a category of vernacular song, then the melody in a song.[27] And *principia* are sometimes intentionally conflated with *materia* (harmony),[28] but at other times quite distinct from it.[29] By the time he reaches polyphony and plainchant, Grocheio has almost completely lost sight of these terms which at first seemed so important to him. One even senses a certain contempt for scholastic terminology when Grocheio puns that 'in our day, the principles [*principia*] of any liberal arts are diligently investigated in Paris', that is, both in its university and musical life.[30]

Just like his inconsistent Aristotelianism, Grocheio's resulting classification of musical performances cannot, I think, be taken as either unequivocally prescriptive or even descriptive of a late thirteenth-century Parisian performance practice, although parts of it may very well be. At the very

least, Grocheio caricatured musical practice of his day somewhat to effect more water-tight, speculative categories. At worst, he created characteristics or even entirely new genres such as *cantus insertus* or *cantus versiculatus* purely for the sake of scholastic play. That the performance practice of his day did not quite conform to his categories seems clear from the discrepancies between his descriptions and the available evidence detailed below. Grocheio himself conceded that his classifications of Parisian musical life would not coincide with their various manifestations in all cities and regions, since the categories needed to cover every eventuality and to 'exhaust the whole'.[31] To paraphrase Fladt, Aristotle would have been the first to admit that a thing does not always fit its definition.[32]

Into this matrix fall the well-worn passages cited earlier in this book. Following his discussion of intervals, our author moves on to what he calls the *forma* and *materia* of music and reviews traditional divisions such as those of Boethius, which he promptly rejects. Others, then writes Grocheio, divide music into unmeasured (chant) and measured (polyphony), but they are mistaken. 'If, however', he goes on, 'by "immeasurable" they understand not so precisely measured [*non ita praecise mensuratam intellegant*], it seems this division can remain'.[33] Whence he immediately moves on to propose his alternative and unique division of vernacular song, polyphony and plainchant.[34] Not only does Grocheio not identify vernacular songs as unmeasured, he is here making a concession regarding someone else's opinion: this is hardly his own categorical or even implicit statement about a performance practice of secular monophony, as some would have it.[35] A little later, Grocheio organizes vernacular songs into the following three categories: *gestualis, coronatus* and *versiculis*. Of the *cantus coronatus*, he says it 'treats delightful and difficult material [*materia*] such as friendship and charity; and it is made of all manner of longs, even perfect ones'.[36] Grocheio also cites two trouvère songs as examples of his *cantus coronatus*, 'Ausi com l'unicorne' and 'Quant li roussignol'. The first is by Thibaut de Champagne (RS 2075) and the second could either be 'Quant li rosignols jolis' (RS 1559) attributed to either Raoul de Ferrières or the Châtelain de Coucy, or the anonymous 'Quant li roussignols s'ecrie' (RS 1149); the former is usually assumed.

From this last thin passage some have concluded or inferred that trouvère (and by implication, troubadour) songs were not in practice sung to a strict rhythm in the thirteenth century.[37] But the evidence hardly warrants this conclusion. Leaving aside the problematic identity of the *cantus coronatus*, it is worth first noting that Grocheio does not resort to his earlier 'not so precisely measured' formulation, but rather sticks to mensural terminology



Example 6.1: Chansonnier R's reading of Thibaut de Champagne's 'Aussi com l'unicorne sui', final line

(*longa* and *perfecta*). His primary frame of reference in this short sentence is written mensuration, not performed music.[38] Aside from the fact that Grocheio seems to include both perfect and imperfect longs in his statement (although even this is debated), it is not at all clear whether the long in question is meant for individual pitches or for the overall perfection.[39] More importantly, the description Grocheio gives for the *cantus coronatus* does not match up even to the available evidence for the two examples he provides, something which is true of other Grocheian categories for vernacular music.[40] Certain salient features of Grocheio's *cantus coronatus* are found neither in RS 1559 nor in RS 2075. Neither treats *amicitia* or *karitas*, but love between a man and woman; they are not made up of seven stanzas, but four and five; and these are not divided into musical sections, or *puncti*.[41] As for our theorist's stereotyping of the *cantus coronatus* as being written exclusively in longs, the extant chansonniers do not all agree. Of the eight readings for 'Quant li rosignols joli', two distinguish between *longae* and *breves* (chansonnier O, fols. 110v and 117r). Of the nine readings of Thibaut's 'Aussi com l'unicorne sui', three make use of mensural differentiation. In two we find *longae* and *breves* in some way alternating (O, fol. 1, and R, fol. 38v), and in one we even find a free-standing *semibrevis* shape (X, fol. 26v).[42] As the clearest instance of resistance to Grocheio's characterization, example 6.1 contains the last line of R's reading.[43]

The period immediately following the troubadours and trouvères thus presents us with a strikingly similar situation to the subsequent seven centuries of reception: a largely literary tradition separated by the original, largely oral one by a generation or more; different interpretations of the same work; various rhythmic experimentations drawing on the latest rhythmic theories; editions organizing the repertoires by giving priority to certain song-makers and not to others; and editors and writers formulating categories and genres based only partly on an original practice and suiting a largely retrospective view on the repertoires. In this sense, both the chansonniers, the first editions of the troubadours and trouvères, and Grocheio's eccentric scholastic recapitulation are no different than their modern counterparts.

POST-MEDIEVAL RECAPITULATIONS

Past art, both immediate and more distant, requires ever-renewed interest and interpretation, for it lacks the original motivation and context which were the impetus for its creation. A re-creation, a renaissance or an archaeological exhumation: all of these require a powerful, new impetus. The early sixteenth-century Italian literati would hardly have picked up late thirteenth-century troubadour chansonniers and bothered to plough through the difficult archaisms of the *art de trobar* without a special motivation. Something in their milieu had to give that text its meaning.

The most consistent motivation for an interest in troubadour and trouvère song which I outline in chapter 2 was the quest for literary authority. This is what the struggling French and Italian vernacular poets sought in the sixteenth century, and they first took their cue from more familiar and prestigious texts. These texts were in Greek and Latin, dating from antiquity. They were considered the true source, and automatically became the reference point for the Middle Ages. Pitted against Homer's Greece or Virgil's Rome, the inferior Middle Ages needed to lose as much of its youth as it could manage and to win as much antiquity as possible. The more like antiquity the Middle Ages could become, the better its chance of survival. Still today, which are the most prestigious medieval texts? The older ones: *Beowulf*, the *Chanson de Roland*, the neumed chants of Saint-Gall – all assigned as early a date as possible so as to push them ever back and ever closer to antiquity. The conditions for this interpretation of the Middle Ages were set, then, in the 1500s. At that time, the Middle Ages needed quickly to acquire maximum distance from the present and to amalgamate with Greek and Roman antiquity, so as to become a new vernacular antiquity. There were other motivations, too, such as the Italian inferiority complex under Henry II and Catherine de' Medici. Italy boasted its Dantes and Petrarchs, the signs of its superior antiquity. French writers frequently considered their native equivalents inadequate, and so Marot, Ronsard and others resorted to imitating Petrarch.[44] The ensuing reaction and quest constituted the motivation for an independent French antiquity by the late 1500s.

Before the *moyen âge* – that is to say, before the Middle Ages as an official historical construct – was the *antiquité françoise*. Here, the connection to antiquity was explicit, the identification with Ancient Greece, and to a lesser degree Rome, was both natural and urgent. Antiquarian Claude Fauchet sought a French *Aeneid* and consequently found it in the Old French works mostly of the thirteenth century. How did he and his

contemporaries envision this new antiquity? The shaping of it was a tall order, for the new antiquity should not only rise to equality with the original one, but also surpass it; by some miracle, it needed to acquire a few superior traits if it was ever to claim historical dominance. From this implicit line of reasoning began the astounding process by which the French antiquity became superior by a paradox, by an ostensible inferiority to Greek antiquity. The Middle Ages overwhelmed Greek antiquity by becoming Greek antiquity redux. And this is still to some extent our Middle Ages.

This French antiquity, free of the heavy wisdom and culture of the Greeks, was a fully shaped entity by the late sixteenth century. In the 1580s Montaigne made explicit the essential quality of the Middle Ages. It is primitive. It has escaped knowledge of writing, so Montaigne writes. It belongs to the people, but is elegant just the same; it sleeps in a happy, rural sleep. It is, in a word, naïve.[45] To enter it requires not knowledge of Greek or even Latin, but of a French tongue now spoken only in rural regions, a French found, for example, in the popular songs of Gascogne – vulgar French, in other words. The troubadours and trouvères, like the French antiquity to which they belong, escape chronological pinpointing. For Nostredame, the troubadours' activity stretched from the twelfth to the late fourteenth century. For Fauchet, the trouvères lasted even longer, from Charlemagne to Henri II. Only occasionally did Fauchet concede that the thirteenth century was indeed what he considered this antiquity's apex and the period which provided for him the richest trove of texts.

The *antiquité françoise* also emanated from French kings' fascination with their own identity and origins. François I (1515–47), and after him Henri II (1547–59), adopted at court the words and ways of the old chivalry as idealized in *Amadis* and *Roland*, going so far as to organize their own tournaments (one of which was, incidentally, where Henry II prematurely met his death). This was a powerful motivation for sixteenth-century historians to begin reading medieval romances, with their accounts of great knights and tournaments and trouvères of high lineage. From their assigned slots in the chansonniers, the nobles and lords of the thirteenth century could thus from across the centuries join hands with their royal descendants, the Henry IIs and Louis XIVs. It is no coincidence that, as I describe in chapter 2, the principal medieval heroes of this time were Roland and Amadis, supernatural knightly heroes both; their names, in fact, were used as pseudonyms in Henry II's tournaments.[46] The royal academies of the seventeenth century further cultivated this antiquity. They watered it laboriously, hard-earned historical fragment by fragment, piecing together the many tiny roots which ultimately reached back to the vast trunk fully imagined from the start.



Figure 6.1: Engraving of jousting knights from Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1556), 473

Now, to the present-day musician, the foregoing may all seem unnecessary and even a little tedious. But it is of the greatest importance for the study of medieval music. In music histories prior to 1700, we certainly find mention of Greek music and theory, of medieval music, of Guido d'Arezzo, of the modes and of plainchant. But nowhere do we find medieval vernacular music. It came in, not through the main entrance where one would expect it, that is, not in the official music histories of the time, but through the back door. We first find mention of it as a mere illustration or appendix in the Franco-Italian debate over linguistic questions. It served the purpose of answering the important question of the day, 'Who were the originators of vernacular verse?' The eventual answer to this question, one with a long and circuitous history of its own, would become: the troubadours. The songs of the troubadours, which have since earned their spot in a book of Genesis of sorts in music and literary history texts, gradually became a point of contention in the lengthy Franco-Italian debate in the sixteenth century, where they carved for themselves an important place, initially for reasons of adaptability. For the status of the Old Occitan poets, in keeping with the vague French antiquity, was conveniently indeterminate. Their language and their land lay somewhere between France and Italy. Thus both places claimed them. This contestation lasted for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. French writers could not decide which of the southern troubadours and the northern trouvères would become the literary heroes of French antiquity. Eventually, that is to say by the late seventeenth century, the troubadours had been decisively ousted in favour of the trouvères, making possible the boom of Old French scholarship in the eighteenth century.

Consequently, in the musical space of the French antiquity as imagined prior to 1700, there was no special distinction between troubadours and trouvères. Their music suited their stereotype; it was rough, primitive and naïve. What we now call 'early music' was frequently imagined in a 'style marotique'. For Fauchet, this music was a Homeric epic sung to a royal audience by lowly *jongleurs* with their harps and vielles. For Clément Marot and Josquin des Prez, it was a catchy refrain from a long time ago. For Lully, it was a battle cry in tripping triple time with a basso continuo. A few antiquarians looked into this music, and began transcribing trouvère songs from chansonnier O, a book coveted early on for its idiomatic attention to rhythm.

If this study has devoted too much time on the eighteenth century, it is to oppose definitively the unfortunately frequent silence on the Enlightenment's prominent place in medieval historiography.[47] It is here in the

mid-eighteenth, rather than the late nineteenth century, that a systematic study of medieval song was first achieved. Whatever assumptions the Enlightenment inherited from earlier times about the French antiquity, they would become so fixed, so omnipresent by the late 1700s, that neither Romanticism, positivism, nor even post-modernism could undo them. The eighteenth century was a watershed period in that it set the entire framework for both popular medievalism and the project of medieval studies. An acceleration in the publishing of trouvère songs owed much to new circumstances in the Enlightenment. Following the unearthing of Pompeii and Herculaneum, archaeologists went hunting for monuments which, for the Middle Ages, included manuscripts. The editing of medieval texts moved, generally speaking, from a somewhat esoteric enterprise in the first half of the century to a more common one destined for wider readership in the second half.

The basic idea of a French antiquity – indeed the very term – became entrenched in the Enlightenment. Where up until now France had only politely kissed the Middle Ages on the cheek, it here enthusiastically embraced its medieval heritage as an indigenous antiquity worthy of unabashed scholarly and dilettante attention. The trouvères moved to the front and centre of the French antiquity, with Thibaut de Champagne christened as its Homer. In the course of the eighteenth century, over thirty trouvère melodies would be edited and published, compared to only one troubadour melody. The roster of great trouvères was extended beyond Thibaut to other major poets found in the chansonniers: the Châtelain de Coucy, Raoul de Soissons, Henri de Brabant. By century's end, their fame had even spilled beyond France's borders. Herder included Thibaut and Raoul de Soissons in his anthology of *Volkslieder*, one of the early landmarks of German Romanticism. With this, the trouvères won the definitive victory over the troubadours in the eighteenth century. Southern culture retained throughout the eighteenth century a peripheral position despite Sainte-Palaye's efforts in the copying of troubadour poetry or the 'Languedocian airs' certain composers used to represent medieval music.

In this giant push towards defining medieval music in the 1700s, the *antiquité françoise* nevertheless retained its essential naïveté inherited from earlier writers. This was not just a vaguely popular idea, but one with official sanction, which trickled from the top down. That the Middle Ages were fundamentally naïve remained an *a priori* notion for even the most knowledgeable of medievalists such as Sainte-Palaye and the Marquis de Paulmy, whose reading of Marot, after all, had preceded that of medieval manuscripts. But also, the promulgation of medieval literature depended

on the historiographic continuity of the idea of a naïve Middle Ages; it had been around for so long that scholars to a certain extent cultivated it in an effort to disseminate their works to a broader public. Such was the case in Sainte-Palaye's 1760 edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which was not its title, but rather *Les amours du bon vieux tems*. This blatant reference to Marot's well-known rondeau was not only a marketing ruse but a genuine tribute to Marot as imaginer and proselytizer of the true French antiquity – a primitive and pure antiquity.

A naïve Middle Ages required naïve music. What had only been suggested in outline form became an official style with its own genre, the *romance* and the trouvère song imitation. From the earliest pastiches of Moncrif to the *opéras comiques* of Grétry, this musical 'style moncrif' had become, by the late eighteenth century, indispensable to representing the Middle Ages. And just as seriously as Sainte-Palaye had honoured Marot, so did such music historians as Laborde consider Marot's affected antiquity part and parcel of medieval history. Moncrif and Laborde included, next to settings of more or less authentic medieval texts, those of poems by Clément Marot. Moncrif could write, in an historical flip-flop, that Thibaut de Champagne sounded like Marot.[48] Marot's poems contained, just as much as – and perhaps even more than – medieval poetry itself, the essence of those naïve good old days. These developments would lead directly to the nineteenth-century stage works of Verdi, Wagner and others.

The interpretation of medieval rhythm, which was to become such a focal scholarly question, was not yet such in 1700. By the 1780s, however, the primary motivation for this debate, as well as its two major positions, were firmly in place. The question emerged not as an historical one, but as one related to contemporary performance. In consulting the chansonniers, writers did not ask so much 'how were these songs sung then?' as 'how should they be sung today?' As early as 1702, Crescimbeni asserted an equalist interpretation without providing an explanation; he was simply following a common method of notating plainchant in his day. Crescimbeni provided this music, so he wrote, only to satisfy 'la curiosità de' lettori'. To this Ravallière responded with a mensural interpretation of trouvère song, less out of respect for a medieval source than for the modern reader's sake, so that 'persons versed in the rhythm [*mouvements*] of lyric song can grasp that of these songs'.[49] The difficulty of finding a satisfactory solution to the rhythm quandary slowly became apparent. Charles de Lusse hinted at this around 1770 when he wrote that 'restoring the *original rhythm*' of medieval song would require following '*laws* imposed by the character, genre and *expression of its words*' (my emphasis).[50] Any reader familiar with the later

so-called modal interpretation will here recognize its fundamental tenets in kernel form. The idea of a primitive, hidden rhythm which needed to be extracted appealed even more to the Romantic than Enlightenment imagination. The exact method of extrapolating this hidden rhythm was still unknown by 1800. But at least this much was clear: medieval music needed translating.

So by 1800, a trouvère melody could be paraphrased in one of two ways, either equalist or mensuralist. The equalist approach might have endured but for the development in early nineteenth-century Germany of the critical edition. Above all, the critical method required a collation of all sources and an unprecedented attention to the detail of these sources. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the troubadours, largely neglected in France since Nostredame, became the jewel in the Prussian crown that was Romance philology, and Old Occitan editions and manuscript studies poured forth from German centres of learning in the 1880s and 1890s; so that by around 1890, troubadour music was waiting in the wings. As these developments took place, scholars of plainchant worked out an extensive system of applying the critical method to music. In the uncovering of texts (including musical ones) through the critical method, a key notion was that of latency, that is, a thing's being nearly completely hidden but for a quirk, or clue. For the critical method, latency was an even more essential concept than for eighteenth-century writers like Tressan. By means of various scientific laws, it extracted an original, hidden text from manuscript witnesses. In keeping with the Romantic penchant for originality, these were sometimes the least likely manuscripts, as when a late reading, by some eccentricity of transmission, actually came closer than an earlier one to the original.

It is possible that, even if rhythm had been clearly laid out in every single medieval chansonnier, Romanticism would still have looked for a latent, more primitive manifestation. From the seventeenth century on, researchers in plainchant had been obsessed about rhythmic interpretation, fabricating difficult and sometimes secret codes. In the late 1600s, Jumilhac wrote of establishing the true rhythm of plainchant by means of the 'incommensurable and irrational inequality' of syllables and notes. Such theories grew in favour in the nineteenth century and culminated in the work of the Benedictins de Solesmes. The means for interpreting troubadour and trouvère rhythm, too, would be secret and difficult. The text-based and mensural approaches to secular song developing in the nineteenth century both in their own way claimed a mysterious methodology. Perne described the 'secret means' by which he had deciphered the melodies

of the Châtelain de Coucy. The folk nature of medieval song deepened this sense of latency. Coussemaker spoke of medieval music as buried away in folk tradition. He placed the origin of thirteenth-century mensuration in folk song, in the simple music of the people, rather than the learned chant of the clerics; as he saw it, only later did the cloister take over and submit the original, naïve rhythm to its stale erudition. As for the text-based approach, its purportedly plain method made equally great claims for the common genealogies of folk and medieval song. Riemann claimed that troubadour music was 'folk heavy' (*volkmässig*).

The topos of resurrection, common since the Enlightenment, received its most dramatic interpretation in the Romantic advent of Adam de la Halle. Adam was the new, revolutionary trouvère, the first man of musical archaeology, as I have laid out in chapter 4. His resurrection was contemporary with that of the monuments of plainchant; both sprung suddenly from forgotten, musty books 'discovered' in the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, Adam's resurfacing in the first decade of the nineteenth century as the father of French popular theatre led to Fétis' exploration of his manuscript monuments. First Fétis (1827), then a small stream of music researchers leading to Coussemaker, plundered these manuscripts, finding there a rhythmically clear notation. Coussemaker, having expanded the search for trouvère rhythm to medieval polyphony as a whole, culminated his life's work by producing a critical edition of the complete works of Adam (1872). These works were musical, poetic and dramatic, for the first trouvère, like the world's greatest artists, was skilled in more than just one artistic medium. Coussemaker here presented Adam's music in all its Moncrifian liveliness, making scientifically clear that the music of the trouvères was exactly what it had been thought to be all along, as good as any musical setting of poems by Ronsard or Marot.

Although resurrecting the original folk rhythm that was medieval mensuration was Coussemaker's goal, he was led to argue a point that would prove to be problematic, for it conflicted with the enduring image of the Middle Ages as naïve. On the one hand, Coussemaker viewed the trouvères as folk singers, and he maintained a lifelong interest in folk song from his native Flanders. But his confrontation with such monuments as the Montpellier motet codex had fostered another idea alongside this one. For he had been surprised to find, buried in the midst of this mensural polyphony, the names of several trouvères, not just that of Adam. This strengthened Fétis' recent discovery of Adam's mensurally notated rondeaux. Adam as well as other trouvères could be placed on a par with composers of early polyphony like Palestrina. In an attempt to force the association, Coussemaker resorted

to calling the trouvères – or at least some of them – polyphonic craftsmen, or *polyphonistes*. No longer were they just naïve singers, although they certainly were this too; as Coussemaker put it, the trouvères were also *mélodistes*, makers of melody, or singers. But now, in addition to this, they were smart composers, artisans educated in the quadrivium.

Such a decisive and revolutionary break with past historiography, however, sidelined the trouvères from the late nineteenth century on. For with his paradox, Coussemaker had rendered the trouvères impotent; in yielding up some of their naïveté, they had lost it entirely. Those who, after Fétis and Coussemaker, wished for a return to the most abiding stereotype of medieval music as naïve would have to look elsewhere. But such a stereotype lay readily available in individuals whose music awaited its own pseudo-resurrection: the troubadours. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the music of the troubadours was studied in part to regain what had been lost to Coussemaker's paradox. Thanks to the modern study of the music of the troubadours, the trouvère craftsman was reconciled with the traditional folk singer.

Neither the Enlightenment nor even Romanticism could probably have predicted the extent of the troubadours' importance in the twentieth century. Their fame had been slow in coming: through the Italian literati of the Renaissance, the *genre troubadour* and the *airs languedociens* of the Enlightenment, up to German Romance philology. All these developments ultimately brought about unprecedented attention to the word 'troubadour', generating generic troubadours of all kinds, from Stephen Foster to Bob Dylan. Despite the far greater amount of trouvère musical monuments discovered prior to 1895, scholars suddenly turned to the considerably smaller corpus of troubadour music. And this little corpus became the laboratory for medieval musicology's grand experiment which it nicknamed the 'modal theory'.

Coussemaker's paradox required a paradoxical solution: a scientific system to frame and fix an originally unfixed and improvised song. Already in the 1890s, Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit* had offered a solution which combined scientific method with the natural, 'folk-heavy' rhythm of medieval song. It is important to stress here again that the twentieth century offered nothing substantially new to the study of medieval song. By 1900, all the fundamental building blocks for the modal approaches were in place: more or less chronologically, a stereotyping of medieval music as simple and more often than not triple-metred, an obsession with a medieval musical tradition surviving in hidden places, an extensive tradition of editing medieval melodies, a classification of the sources, an identification of measured readings, a

quest for an original rhythm, and a philological model for a critical text and method. The final cornerstone of thirteenth-century polyphonic notation study Coussemaker himself had provided in his inaugural studies of the motet. All that remained wanting was the actual impetus for a concentrated large-scale study of medieval rhythm. With the Straßburg School (Jacobsthal and Ludwig), medieval music study moved from the living room of the armchair scholar (if one dares call Coussemaker such) to the modern university. This slip from one arena to the other within a relatively short span of time, between roughly 1880 and 1910, did not occur without leaving a particularly Prussian stamp on medieval music, specifically, the vision of a unified and purposeful history driven by latent forces.

That somehow a final solution, one which would stand for all time – or at least for a very long time – should be attempted was a distinctively twentieth-century notion, and it is this which would prove to be problematic. No reader in the preceding seven centuries of reception had suggested such permanence with such conviction as those in the twentieth century. The chansonnier editors, Grocheio, Montaigne, Lully, Moncrif, Laborde and even Coussemaker – all recognized the temporality and limitations of their interpretations of medieval music. But twentieth-century readers wanted more. From Friedrich Ludwig's admittedly magisterial perspective, the solution seemed right at hand; it was certainly on the tip of his tongue, at least around 1900. After all, the evidence was finally all available, thanks especially to the work of Coussemaker, Riemann and Meyer. I have detailed Ludwig's special predilection for the notion of latency which not only marked earlier historiographies and ideologies of medieval song, but had come to him via Hegel and Ranke as well as the critical method. Latency sat at the centre of Ludwig's grand narrative of medieval music, telling the story of a rhythm emerging from plain square notation or *Quadratnotation* into the full manhood of mensuration or *Mensuralnotation*, both terms which, incidentally, he was responsible for popularizing. Secular monophony was merely an episode for Ludwig, but it remained a critical one for him, and one for which he felt a certain attachment. With his historical narrative established and its details more or less in place, it seemed around 1900 an easy matter for the optimistic Ludwig to solve the rhythm quandary of troubadour and trouvère melodies.

I have suggested that, by the late 1920s, Ludwig, inaccurately called the founder of the 'modal theory', had apparently given up on producing a critical edition based on the application of latent modal rhythm. By this time already, what was originally a single system quickly became several modal theories, beginning with Jean Beck's own conflicting interpretations. It is

one of the ironies of twentieth-century musicology that so great a controversy as the Aubry–Beck scandal had so little impact on musicological practice. Different readings of trouvère song following Franconian principles were proposed as early as 1742 and have continued unabated until the present time. The early modal theory (1905–10) was original to neither Beck, Aubry nor Ludwig. And the dispute over the application of latent mensural rhythm did not prevent the theory from soon splintering into quite different applications as early as the 1920s. The enduring squabble over how exactly a definitive modal theory would work, along with the lengthy, pious hush over the exact circumstances of Aubry's death, ultimately brought about a large-scale reaction. That this reaction has identified itself, even as it has continued to redefine itself, as somehow new, is surprising and somewhat deceptive given the tradition of equalist readings from 1702 on. In retrospective, it seems that the primary benefit of the various anti-modal approaches has been to divert scholarship to other important research areas such as orality and codicology which continue to offer promising avenues for research.

It is equally true that we cannot afford to dismiss the contributions of twentieth-century modal approaches. For one, scholarship owes to advocates of latent rhythm a good deal of the scholarship in this field, from Jean Beck's unpublished troubadour edition (around 1907) to Hans Tischler's fifteen-volume edition of trouvère song (1997). Beyond this, advocates of latent rhythm have produced important and useful research. For one, they have identified mensural readings in sources of Old Occitan and Old French monophony and established the connection between motet and monophonic song. The 'classic phase' of the latent rhythm approach (i.e., 1905–10) identified patterns in rhythmic readings and extrapolated how rhythmic modes were applied to texts. These 'rules' are less useful as principles to be followed in our applying mensuration to all monophony than as observations of tendencies in this application around 1300. For example, scribes seem to have generally imposed a regular metre along certain rules, perhaps derived from a specific performance practice: modes 1 and 2 lent themselves to six- and seven-syllable verse, and mode 3 to decasyllabic poems.[51]

In some ways, this type of study has just begun. It could fairly be said that the question of thirteenth-century rhythm, despite the lavish amount of ink spilled over it in the twentieth century, is still poorly studied. Neither Ludwig's mensural/non-mensural dichotomy nor the more recent 'semi-mensural' distinction adequately describe the variegated panorama of monophonic notation. David Wulstan has recently reminded us of how

much has yet to be understood about the rhythmic vocabulary used by the notators of the well over 400 Alfonsine Cantigas de Santa Maria.[52] Such is also the case for the use of mensuration in troubadour and trouvère song. Most of the 470 or so rhythmic readings listed in table 1.7, idiosyncratic as many of them are, have yet to be adequately studied. Neither are these the only remaining avenues of study in this area. Recently Robert Lug has suggested a subtler application of modal rhythm in monophonic notation. He has argued that, although the majority of 'non-mensural' notation does not differentiate between long and short values, it does specify duration by the systematic addition or omission of a doubled pitch in ligatures whose final note was long by default. Lug claims this was a looser, orally transmitted system which hinged on the use of structural versus neighbouring tones in more ornamental passages of monophony. He views this 'pre-modal' rhythm, or 'microrhythm' as he calls it, as leading up to the macrorhythmic quanticization of late thirteenth-century scholastic theory as epitomized by Franco of Cologne.[53]

What has been little recognized until now is how twentieth-century reception of troubadour and trouvère (and by extension, medieval) song has continued, rather than broken with, previous receptions. I have emphasized this in chapter 5 – incidentally, at the expense of providing a thorough and perhaps more objective summary of twentieth-century approaches to medieval French monophony; but this can be found elsewhere.[54] Both the quandary of rhythmic interpretation and the specific solutions offered in the last century owed almost entirely to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century work. Neither did the various scientific systems proposed in the last century elude the perennial image of a naïve Middle Ages, Montaigne's 'popular and purely natural poetry . . . brought back from nations which have no knowledge of either science or even writing' – a description dating, we will recall, from 1588.[55] A few representative examples from scholarly literature beyond those cited in the previous chapter (pp. 205 and 233–4) will illustrate my point. As his model for the interpretation of French medieval monophony, Curt Sachs turns to the 'beautiful and convincing song' of a 'Mediterranean folk singer' or to the sounds of what he calls 'primitive music'.[56] In his famous history of medieval music, Gustav Reese sees the influence of 'folk-music' in troubadour and trouvère song by way of Gregorian chant, itself 'affected by folk elements'.[57] Hendrik van der Werf envisions trouvère songs flourishing in a '*notationless* musical culture' far removed from 'the world of *learned* musicians' (his emphasis).[58] Christopher Page speaks of the 'rhapsodic' nature of the High Style song, and the

'easy and instant tunefulness' of pieces in the Low Style.[59] Andrew Hughes, here citing the opinions of others, refers to the 'more folk-like' music of the trouvères who 'were predominantly oral musicians, having little to do with clerical or learned society'.[60] Although the Enlightenment term *naïf* has vanished from these citations, it is apparent in descriptors such as 'folk-like' or even 'rhapsodic'. Such language is used because it appears to belong to the Middle Ages; it expresses a deep and abiding stereotype of medieval song described throughout this book, a stereotype which is, in a word, ineluctable. Certainly one of the motivations for the modal approaches' favouring of simple, unornamented and unaccompanied readings in triple time is that this resonates with the medieval pastiche tradition innovated by Moncrif and continued well into the early twentieth century, the very time at which the 'modal theory' was formulated. Modal approaches thus have provided what Coussemaker had been looking for, Moncrifian melodies with a scientific backing.

If these ideas were present in scholarly literature, this was even more the case in sound recordings. The rise of sound recordings of troubadour and trouvère music coincided with a general weariness over latent rhythm approaches in the 1950s. The new medium of sound recording was a rich field for an unbridled imagining of medieval sound. Here, the old naïve, folk and orientalist elements could be pursued with greater ease and freedom. True, historical recordings were burdened with the duty of technical explanations in liner-notes, but to a far lesser degree than required in academic books and journals. Recorded sound was a freer space than printed scholarly discourse, and one could here offer a minimum of historical justifications for practices which would receive their greatest proof in the pure power of recorded sound: hearing was believing. As I have shown in chapter 5, some of the trends in sound recordings were contemporary refashionings of traditional imagined medieval spaces from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth centuries. Recorded sound was – and still is – seen as complementary to scholarship; it fills in the gaps freely recognized by scholars. As Margaret Switten has put it: 'To study texts and melodies together is therefore to start from what the manuscripts offer and to evoke an imagined performance. Imagined because we cannot know what an actual performance was like.'[61] And this hope, of 'coming as close as possible to the elusive original', as Thomas Binkley once wrote, was precisely what recorded sound offered. Binkley's *Studio der frühen Musik*, along with others in the 1960s and 1970s, considerably broadened the possibilities of medieval music performance practice.

LIVING TROUBADOURS

Near the end of chapter 5, I underscored the sometimes unwitting attention paid in scholarship, ostensibly concerned with the past, to the present tense, to how troubadour and trouvère music should be performed now. Quite often, twentieth-century scholarly method and a more popular, creative interpretation have gone hand in hand. When Wilfrid Mellers introduced the idea of 'the new troubadours' into scholarly discourse in 1965 (chapter 5, p. 209), he was, in addition to picking up a rather old idea, making explicit the connection between the troubadours of medieval Occitania and the folk-song revival of the 1960s. Mellers saw Bob Dylan as the epitome of this new troubadour: a poor, wandering composer whose stirring, personal message set to unexceptional music needed to be heard in person. It was precisely Dylan's unimpressive music and his untrained voice ('Dylan rustily croaks') that validated him as a troubadour. 'Dylan's primitivism', Mellers concluded, 'may mean a new start'.[62] Although he did not state this, implicit in his new troubadour were some long-held traditions, some going back to the medieval troubadours themselves. For example, Guillaume of Aquitaine's *vida* related not only that he knew how to compose as well as sing, as related in chapter 1, but also that he 'travelled a long time throughout the world',[63] an image which the later *genre troubadour* would borrow. Beginning in the Renaissance, critics had commented on the unexceptionalness of troubadour and trouvère music, Burney describing it as having 'no mark for time, nor different length of notes' (chapter 3, p. 119); and countless troubadour *tornadas* and trouvère *envois* attested to the importance of the song being relayed in person. The so-called folk song revival in North American popular music of the 1960s implicitly appealed to these stereotypes.

The synthesis of the medieval troubadour and North American popular music artist produced a variety of manifestations. Having travelled from the chansonniers down to Romantic manifestations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the troubadour received a new boost thanks to the American folk music revival. It was clear that the medieval troubadour, or at least a tradition going back to the Middle Ages, could still readily be evoked in the 1960s. It was still a living tradition. Post-Mellers, in the last quarter of the twentieth century and beyond, were there any living troubadours? There were, and they were (and still are) many. Some of those whom I have interviewed in the past few years have adopted the moniker 'troubadour' with little knowledge of their medieval predecessors, whereas others are as

conversant with the poetry of Peire Vidal as with that of Paul Verlaine. One thing all these living troubadours have in common, though, is a clear sense of their identity and purpose which, coincidentally, often closely matches that of Mellers' definition. Each one, in their own way, maintains what they see as a troubadour tradition and views their music as a continuation and renewal of that tradition. For them, the medieval poets are not merely old literature to be studied but a heritage to be actively transmitted in our times. The fascinating range of troubadours at the turn of the millennium attests to the tenacity of the *trobador* idea which has made its way from the Middle Ages to a place in the present somewhere between antiquarianism and popular song.

Many examples can be found in many parts of the world, and an entire book could be devoted to living troubadours and to their connections to the Middle Ages.[64] But I would like to end this chapter with one area of special importance, the place where this book started: Occitania. Eight hundred years after the flowering of the *art de trobar*, various musical traditions which claim some sort of lineage to the troubadours have been flourishing in southern France since the close of the twentieth century. In the field of historical performance, we have already met the *Musiciens de Provence* (chapter 5, p. 247). A more recent example is the *Troubadours Art Ensemble* founded by Gérard Zuchetto, mentioned at the beginning of the last chapter. As a native of Occitania, Zuchetto's journey has been sponsored by the prestigious Institut d'Estudis Occitans; he is the founder of the European Trobar Centre in Pennautier (Aude, France) whose purpose since 1978 is to disseminate the *art de trobar*. As an author he has edited and translated troubadour poetry. As a singer and composer, he has performed a variety of repertoires. His discography spans from historical performances of troubadour and trouvère songs to settings of contemporary poems.[65] Zuchetto thus stands at the crossroads of Occitanism and historical performance, a position which he views optimistically in light of what he perceives as a desperate need for a renewed troubadour tradition. Zuchetto views the continuation of the *art de trobar* as an historical imperative and the substitution of such a tradition by historicization as a loss.

I asked Gérard Zuchetto to define his own position with respect to ensembles of early music such as the *Boston Camerata*, on the one hand, and more popular groups such as the *Fabulous Trobadors* (to be discussed shortly), on the other. Zuchetto distanced himself from both. As he put it to me:

The artists you mention seem to identify themselves with musical or social trends. As for me, I do not know what 'early music' is, and I reject such an expression which connotes just as much the troubadours as J. S. Bach. Unfortunately for them, many ensembles specializing in medieval music have attached themselves to a vaguely Romantic idea which confers on their music an 'early' characteristic – one which is in fact static, frozen and even boring: as I see it, one lacking in personal research and original creativity.[66]

This phenomenon Zuchetto viewed as having started with the fourteenth-century *Consistori de la Subragaya Companhia del Gay Saber* (chapter 2, p. 61). He attributed the modern creation of a geographical Occitania to Romantic poets such as Heine or Stendahl and nineteenth-century medievalists who were 'amateurs (in the real sense of the word) of *trobar*, which was pompously and simplistically classified in the Romance Language departments of universities'. Primarily responsible for this 'folklorization' (as he put it) of Occitania is a centralist French government which continues to feudalize the south. And the south blindly follows: 'I feel that the imitation of a "Parisian model" is the greatest failing of Occitanian culture, which today is reduced to grotesque carnivals' celebrating a superficial '"Occitanian" culture'. So how does he define himself as a troubadour?

A musician and author in this century who, in the process of questioning himself, also questions the brilliant troubadours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their vision of the world and human relations, and the philosophical and spiritual dimension which their *art de trobar* encompasses.[67]

When I asked him to explain the relationship between his historical research and his creative activities, he simply replied: 'It's a game-playing with music and playing with the *motz, sos* and *razos* of the *canso*'.

These two themes of Parisian centralism and of a living folk tradition both returned in my other exchanges with Occitanian musicians. As mentioned in chapter 5, some of the most dynamic interchanges between the spheres of historical performance and pop music have taken place in late twentieth-century Europe. This is especially the case in the area now reconsidered Occitania, whose musical citizens have frequently treated historicization in a more relaxed way than their trans-Atlantic neighbours. Since the 1980s, Occitanism and pop, together with World Music (a term also adopted in the 1980s), have produced a new wave of artists. Their tongue is Occitan, their musical roots are rock'n'roll, reggae, punk and rap, and their politics are outspokenly anti-centralist. These living troubadours frequently differ on the question of just what constitutes Occitan music. To a certain

extent, they share passions with others discussed earlier: the cause of regionalism with the likes of Gérard Zuchetto and that of political activism with American folk troubadours, for example. Unlike the latter, the living troubadours of Occitania consider the medieval troubadours as their literal ancestors. They thus claim the exclusive privilege to be called troubadours and, furthermore, to recapture this word from the Franco-American goliaths of pop. In the meantime, their best-known contribution is to the world of pop music; their audiences are young and their CDs are sold alongside the countless recorded ephemera lining shop shelves.

The two most active groups in Occitan pop at the time of my writing are the *Fabulous Trobadors* from Toulouse and the *Massilia Sound System* from Marseille.[68] Both were founded in the 1980s, and both are deeply influenced by rap and electronic music, among other things. Both frequently collaborate with academic Occitanists such as Pierre Bec. Claude Sicre of the *Fabulous Trobadors* is especially active as a speaker and writer in defence of the Occitan cause.[69] Sicre is known as the founder of the *repas-de-quartier* (neighbourhood meal) movement in France, which he started in his neighbourhood of Arnaud Bernard in Toulouse. The *repas-de-quartier* is an improvised neighbourhood pot-luck dinner of sorts taken in the middle of the street rather than indoors. *Raggamuffin* is the term used to describe the music of both groups. *Ragamuffin* or simply *ragga* (from the English slang for 'hoodlum') is defined in the recent *Dictionnaire du rock* as a genre which combines reggae with rap. Its best representatives are Toulouse's *Fabulous Trobadors* and Marseille's *Massilia Sound System*.[70] Both groups openly proclaim their identity – indeed, their duty – as living troubadours. The two bands have often collaborated. While Sicre's activism has inspired *Massilia Sound System*, the latter helped produce the *Fabulous Trobadors*' first recording, and the two groups regularly perform on the same stage. As living musical descendants of the medieval troubadours, they both view their art as a vital continuation of the *art de trobar*.

Just like Zuchetto, Claude Sicre feels that the *art de trobar* is by definition a living tradition. This is not to say that Sicre rejects the purely literary enterprise of Romance philology; as an author, he has translated many troubadour poems. But the best way to perpetuate the *art de trobar*, as he sees it, is to create new songs. Though inspired by troubadour songs, these new songs must belong to their time, and their music must draw on living traditions. As Sicre sees it, Occitan rap is no oxymoron: it simply continues the process which the medieval troubadours began. Given Sicre's earlier involvement in traditional music of Occitania, the *Fabulous Trobadors*' sound has been labelled more 'folk'. So folklore and folk invariably come up when

Sicre discourses on the musical style of the *Fabulous Trobadors*. I asked him to define what he means by 'folk'. He related it to the neighbourhood meals with which he was involved. Like them, folk music was music of the street:

> Our music is created to be played in the street; it is prepared with an eye to the street and to crowd participation. Rap music is made for recording and the stage, whereas our style is flexible, with a pulse based on breathing.[71]

Despite the mechanization and digitization to which popular music is now subject, it still contains something which can only be communicated in performance, as Claude Sicre sees it. The *Fabulous Trobadors* are like Mellers' new troubadours, they 'have to be listened to if the experience is to mean anything'. Like the *repas-de-quartier*, their music – folk music – is a spontaneous event shaped by the time and place in which it arises, an event to be created and enjoyed with others, savoured like a good meal.

Massilia Sound System, on the other hand, usually separates itself from folk-derived or historical performances (figure 6.2). While the *Fabulous Trobadors* write songs which, due to their sparse arrangement and use of the tambourine, frequently sound like folk songs, the *Massilia Sound System* practice differs. A group consisting of several instrumentalists (including a DJ and a keyboardist) and four singers, *Massilia* is more closely associated with mainstream French pop. They perform the quintessential *ragamuffin* sound which combines reggae and rap. I interviewed *Massilia*'s singer and songwriter Tatou at his home in La Ciotat, just outside of Marseille. Tatou related *Massilia*'s rise from a penniless street band in the 1980s to a prominent act on the current French pop scene. The group's visibility in the last decade is owed in great part to their fan base which they call the *chourmo*, a term which harks back to the notion of folklore. As Tatou put it:

> Once people side with us they are caught up in something which is much more important than *Massilia Sound System*. There is no translation for *chourmo*, it is not a fan club; it is the return of folklore. . . . We have very close relationships with our listeners. . . . If we play in front of people sitting down or if we make videos, it will not work. . . . Once you have chosen this path, you are forced to live this way – I cannot imagine *Massilia* any other way.[72]

Massilia Sound System has made its enterprise nothing less than the creation of a new folklore for the city of Marseille; *raggamuffin* is simply a means to this end. Although their recordings abound with the scratched and sampled noises ubiquitous in current pop, some less common sounds can be found: snatches of conversations from the streets of Marseille, the lapping of waves by the city's port – even the chattering song of La Ciotat's cicadas. Tatou



Figure 6.2: *Massilia Sound System*

noted the irony, since the group rehearses at La Ciotat before recording elsewhere: 'We record in these sophisticated studios and then go back to La Ciotat where we capture the sound of the cicadas, and insert them back in our songs; this is a spirit which runs contrary to the hit-parade'.

Like Zuchetto and the *Fabulous Trobadors, Massilia Sound System* dips into the mighty fund of troubadour poetry. *Massilia* especially redefines troubadour vocabulary and images to suit their present context and thereby create a unique contemporary Occitan mythology. They specifically exploit the troubadour notion of *fin amors* to a greater degree than the *Fabulous Trobadors*. The new 'troubadour sings for Love . . . and makes his fans get up and dance'.[73] The women praised can be of all generations, as *Massilia* sings in 'Disem-fasem': 'Troubadours singing everywhere the love of ladies, always singing the beauty of the old and young ones'.[74] But it is typically the young ones who receive more attention. In this new *trobar*, *fin amors* takes place in the dance club; the troubadour is the DJ and the *domna* is the girl wearing high-heeled shoes, or 'pilotis'. The latter are the subject of a song in which Marseille women are praised as the most beautiful, for 'they have *pilotis* and it drives all the boys crazy'.[75] The modern troubadour can even use the secret names, or *senhals*, found in the medieval *tornadas*, such as the animal names found in their song 'Ara que per riddim charra la cortesia'. In this way, the recipient remains anonymous: 'Where does my song go, oh *ragga*, who knows?'[76] Tatou insists that *fin amors* is a very current concept, with its emphasis on love outside of marriage and the pain of separation. He clarifies, however:

> I think it is something which we have always done, this veneration of girls. . . . It is not something which we do seriously, we are not militants of this erotic; I might even be glad to be such a militant, but it is at this point that we cannot become the troubadours.[77]

A component essential to *Massilia*'s created folklore is the city of Marseille, which is to them what Toulouse is to the *Fabulous Trobadors*. A voice opens one of their recent albums with the following words: 'I am Marseillaise, for me it is the most beautiful city in the world; there is nowhere else like it in the world'. So central is Marseille to their message that they have coined an expression for it: 'Aïollywood'. This word has even found its way into a regional dictionary, where the group is cited as saying that 'Aïollywood is what you would like for Marseille to be in your dreams, it is your mythology of the city'.[78] As Tatou related to me, the word was inspired by India's 'Bollywood', which it views as the cinematic centre of the world rivalling even the United States' Hollywood. And if India could

do this without shame, then so could Occitania. 'Aïollywood' was coined without an academy's approval. Instead, folklore made it possible, Tatou insisted:

> Folklore invents characters such as the *mal mariée*, the drunk, the vagabond, the hunchback. We do this quite a bit in our songs. The *pilotis* are also part of this; when the girl next door steps out wearing her *pilotis* she becomes my personal star.[79]

Sometimes, songs can help this imaginary folklore become reality. Tatou talked about one of their songs which describes Aïollywood's soccer team called the '*Chourmo* football club'. Soon after the song came out, the group formed a soccer team modelled on the one in the song, illustrating the principle, says Tatou, that if a myth appeals to people, one feels obliged to make it happen. Other words have become attached to 'Aïollywood', such as *òaï*, originally meaning 'bordello' and figuratively, 'problems', as in 'avoir des "òaïs"'. *Massilia* gave this word a more festive sense: 'mettre le òaï' is 'to have a party'. Tatou explained, *òaï* 'had no positive meaning before us and now it is commonly used in a positive sense'.

This shaping of a new troubadour folklore notwithstanding, the group sees itself as remaining true to the medieval *art de trobar*: in fact, as direct ancestors of the medieval troubadours, these living troubadours, more so than others in the world, have the right to manipulate their medieval heritage as they see fit. Tatou calls this activity 'fantasizing about [literally, "phantasmagorizing"] the troubadours':

> We fantasize about the troubadours, we use them as a cultural weapon. They are the monument of our culture and therefore, it is we who are responsible for the troubadours. Strictly speaking, we are the only ones who can talk about them, because it is our thing and, therefore, we have the right to fantasize about them, to make of them stars, very important characters, rappers with baseball hats.[80]

Tatou felt that many troubadour poems have a very contemporary sound, such as Peire Cardenal's 'Tartarassa ni voutor', which sounded to him as if it had been written yesterday. With its reggae beat and punctuating yells, their version is an update of sorts of Claude Marti and the Studio der frühen Musik's 1976 version (cited in chapter 5, p. 246).[81]

The living troubadours of Occitania may rightly feel closer to the medieval troubadours, but this much connects them with all living troubadours described in the last few pages: their *art de trobar* is a work of the imagination whose inspiration is in the past but whose workshop is wholly in the present. This connects them not only to the troubadours of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but to the panoply of musical

reception which I have described throughout this book. Their dedication to a folklore which is an escape from, or at least an improvement on, the present, can easily be traced back to the Renaissance. The *Fabulous Trobadors*'s use of Brazilian folk song and *Massilia*'s use of reggae and rap have their precedents in past uses of living musical traditions, from Gascognese *villanelles* of the Renaissance to Enlightenment Languedocian airs. These renewed folklores betray traces of an enduringly prized naïve and simple antiquity, as in the plainer pleasures of a neighbourhood meal, a soccer game or a high-heeled shoe.

These incarnations of the *art de trobar* will in time be replaced with new ones. Despite their deep commitment to a long Occitan heritage, both *Massilia Sound System* and the *Fabulous Trobadors*, founded in the 1980s, will probably not outlast the comparatively brief shelf life of rap and reggae. This is a fact which both groups understand, but they equally grasp that their own heritage can be passed on to younger generations of musicians who can in turn rechannel their songs. To this end, they have fostered as much as possible a durable solidarity amongst themselves and the Occitanian community, with Claude Sicre as something of a leader. On one of their most recent albums, *Massilia Sound System* wanted to include a *vida*, having already experimented with several medieval ones. They commissioned Sicre to write an original *vida* of the *Massilia Sound System*.[82] Tatou, who himself had tried his hand at several *vidas* on people still living, recalls, 'I knew that Claude had played around with this sort of thing and so we told him, "make up the *vida* of *Massilia*"'. And so the idea began as something of a joke, signed 'Anonyme d'Arnaut Bernard', but ended up as a complex thirty-strophe tale of *Massilia*'s journey, complete with key events and names in the group's decade and a half career, from Bob Marley to the *Fabulous Trobadors* and beyond. Tatou commented that it broke with the medieval tradition of relying on the troubadours' songs for autobiographical details. Yet there is something unmistakably medieval in Sicre's *vida* of these *ragamuffin* troubadours. A terse account in the past tense, it begins in Occitan, '*Massilia Soun Sistemà* were and are still a group of *joglars* from the city of *Marsiha*'. He ends the *vida* with the following words:

> And the *Massilia* never died, for its pioneers trained young people who relayed them in the same spirit, and these young people in turn trained other young people while the old ones still composed for the group and played on stage when they felt like it. And thus *Massilia Sound System* existed for centuries and centuries, until the end of Time. And all that I tell here I know it for having lived it up close and seen and heard and understood as is fitting.[83]

NOTES

1. Massilia Sound System, *Chourmo!* (Roker Promocion BRCD 9365, 1993), track six, 'Lo trobar reven': '"Trobar" is back, we need it / "Sirventes" "tenso" and "cançon" are back . . .'.
2. M. L. West, 'The Babylonian Musical Notation and the Hurrian Melodic Texts', *Music & Letters* 75 (1994), 161, note 1.
3. William Weber makes a related point in 'The History of Musical Canon', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336–55.
4. See William Weber's '*La musique ancienne*' and his *Rise of Musical Classics*.
5. E.g., *The Wedding Singer* (1998), directed by Frank Coraci and starring Adam Sandler and Drew Barrymore.
6. Mark Everist, 'The Miller's Mule: Writing the History of Medieval Music', *Music & Letters* 74 (1993), 44–53.
7. I would like to thank Katharine Ellis for pointing this out to me.
8. Fauchet as cited in chapter 2, note 12.
9. Abbé Antoine Banier, *Mythology of Fables of the Ancients explained from History* (1739–40; repr. New York: Garland, 1976), vol. 1, 17; translated from Banier's *La mythologie et les fables expliquées par l'histoire* (Paris: Briasson, 1738–40).
10. John Stevens makes a similar point in the form of a question in 'Medieval Song', in *New Oxford Dictionary of Music*, vol. 2, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 373.
11. See Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music'.
12. See Haines, 'Irregular Rhythm'.
13. See Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music'.
14. Robert Lug, 'Drei Quadratnotationen in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', *Die Musikforschung* 53 (2000), 4–40.
15. On which point, see Robert Mulally, 'Johannes de Grocheo's "Musica vulgaris"', *Music & Letters* 79 (1998), 2.
16. Ernst Rohloff, *Studien zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo*, Media latinitas musica 1 (Leipzig: Frommhold & Wendler, 1930), 66–70; Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), 14–17 and 25–6; Patricia A. M. DeWitt, 'A New Perspective on Johannes de Grocheio's *Ars Musicae*' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973) – I would like to thank Patricia DeWitt, my colleague at Shorter College for four years, for sharing and discussing her doctoral dissertation with me; Martin Bielitz, 'Materia und Forma bei Johannes de Grocheo: zur Verwendung philosophischer Termini in der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie', *Die Musikforschung* 38 (1985), 257–77; Ellinore Fladt, *Die Musikauffassung des Johannes de Grocheo im Kontext der hochmittelalterlichen Aristoteles-Rezeption* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1987). Fladt was apparently unaware of Bielitz; neither author cites DeWitt.
17. Fladt, *Die Musikauffassung* (these writers are cited throughout but a bibliography for each is given on pp. 10–12); Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 71.

18. Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Paris: Publications Universitaires, 1977), 67, 76, 115, 177–80 and 197. For a good summary, see David Luscombe, *Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapters 4–6.
19. Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 54–6; Bielitz, 'Materia und Forma', 258 ff. The crucial passage in question is edited and translated in Wolf, 'Die Musiklehre', 72–3; Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 114; Johannes de Grocheio, *Concerning Music (De Musica)*, ed. and trans. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1974), 4; DeWitt, 'A New Perspective' 45. Admittedly, a 'plus quam' between 'materia' and 'principium' in the second sentence may be seen as implicit, thus rendering: 'in the artificial realm we may speak more of matter than of principle'. But, as detailed below, the rest of the treatise does not bear this out. On Grocheio's use of *materia* and *forma*, see also Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères', in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William Paden (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 273–96, and Christopher Page, 'Grocheio [Grocheo], Johannes de' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 10, 433.
20. DeWitt in fact translates *efficiens* as 'efficient cause' ('A New Perspective', 45).
21. This term is found only in manuscript D (Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 114, number 19).
22. Citations in Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 66–8 (substance and accident), and 72 and 116 ('*ens* in actu'); Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, p. 114; commentary in Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 55, and Bielitz, 'Materia und Forma', 258, note 1. I borrow Timothy McDermott's translation of *accidentalis* as 'non-essential' in Thomas of Aquinas' *De Principiis naturae* (*c.* 1250) (Thomas Aquinas, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. Timothy McDermott [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998], 68; Latin text cited in Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 67).
23. Bielitz, 'Materia und Forma', 259 and 270. Bielitz does point out the affinity here with Averroistic Aristotelianism, or 'Averroistischen Irrlehre' (268).
24. Bielitz, 'Materia und Forma', 270–7; Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 88–90. See also DeWitt, 'A New Perspective', 32–4.
25. See Jeremy Yudkin, *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).
26. Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 124, 130 and 134. DeWitt noted some of the discrepancies regarding form and matter ('A New Perspective', 48 and 52).
27. Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 116, 130, 134; the latter is the focus of Page's discussion in 'Grocheio', 433.
28. Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 114 and 122.
29. *Ibid.*, 110–12, 118 and 120.
30. *Ibid.*, 124.
31. 'Membra dividentia debent totam naturam totius divisi evacuare' (Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 124).
32. Fladt, *Musikauffassung*, 95.

33. The Latin text in manuscript H (fol. 42r, lines 12–13) is: 'Si aut*em* p*er* im*men*surabilem no*n* ita p*rae*cise m*en*surata*m* i*n*telli*g*ant / p*otes*t ut videt*ur* ista di*visi*o remane*re*' (Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften*, 66); both manuscripts give 'intelligant' rather than 'intellegant', as Rohloff notes on p. 124. For other English translations, see Seay, ed., *Concerning Music*, 11; Christopher Page, 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and A New Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993), 20; Elizabeth Aubrey's reading in 'French Monophony', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 138, differs slightly: 'they do not understand "measured" so precisely, etc.'
34. Page, 'Grocheio,' 432–3. See Page's outline of the three types of *musica vulgaris* in *Discarding Images*, 73–4.
35. Ugo Sesini, *Le melodie trobadoriche*; Hendrik van der Werf, *Chansons*, 38–9, and 'The "Not-So-Precisely-Measured" Music of the Middle Ages', *Performance Practice Review* 1 (1988), 45; Stevens, *Words and Music*, 433–4.
36. The original in manuscript H (fol. 43v, lines 22–3) runs: 'Est e*nim* cant*us* iste de dele*c*tab*i*li m*ateria* et ardua / sic*ut* de amicitia et karitate. Et ex o*mnibus* lo*n*gis et p*erfec*tis efficit*ur*'; both manuscripts give 'karitate' and not 'caritate', as Rohloff notes on p. 130. Translations in Seay, *De Musica*, 16; Page, 'Johannes de Grocheio', 23; and Aubrey, 'French Monophony', 143, note 15; I have remained closest to Aubrey's translation.
37. Van der Werf, 'Not-So-Precisely-Measured', 45; Stevens, *Words and Music*, 431–4; Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 16 and 196–201.
38. Elsewhere, Grocheio speaks of the indispensability of writing to the musician (Rohloff, *Quellenhandschriften*, 124–6).
39. Aubrey, 'French Monophony', 139.
40. Doris Stockmann, 'Musica vulgaris bei Johannes de Grocheio (Grocheo)', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1983), 3–56; Timothy McGee, 'Medieval Dances: Matching the Repertory with Grocheio's Descriptions', *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), 498–517 (see also McGee's references on p. 498, note 1).
41. Hendrik van der Werf, 'Cantus coronatus', in *Handbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (1983), 6–7; Robert Mullally, 'Johannes de Grocheo's "Musica vulgaris"', 7.
42. This had been noted nearly a century ago by Beck, *Melodien*, 73, and picked up again by Stockmann, 'Musica vulgaris', 30, and most recently, McGee, *Sound of Medieval Song*, 108. Beck's transcription of chansonnier K's reading of Thibaut's song is misleading, however.
43. A complete stemless-note edition of melody is found in Rosenberg *et al.*, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 307.
44. Bourciez, *Mœurs polies*, book three, chapter 1.
45. See chapter 2, p. 51.
46. Bourciez, *Mœurs polies*, 20.
47. See chapter 4, note 6.
48. Cited in chapter 3, p. 130.
49. Ravallière, *Poësies*, vol. 2, 303.

50. Chapter 3, p. 135.
51. See Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1960), 521–2.
52. Wulstan, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, chapter 2.
53. See chapter 5, note 82 and Lug, 'Die Erfindung der modernen Notenschrift. Vorstadium und Beginn musikalischer Zeitmessung im 13. Jahrhundert', in *Signs and Time – Zeit und Zeichen. An International Conference on the Semiotics of Time in Tübingen*, ed. Ernest Hess-Lüttich *et al.* (Tübingen: Narr, 1998), 293–341.
54. See references in chapter 4, note 6 and Elizabeth Aubrey's well-tempered survey in her *Music of the Troubadours*, 240–4.
55. Chapter 2, p. 51.
56. Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), 176, and 'Primitive and Medieval Music: A Parallel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960), 43–9.
57. Gustav Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, 218.
58. Hendrik van der Werf, 'Trouvère Chansons', 67. In a similar vein, Friedrich Gennrich had earlier acknowledged what he called an 'epoch of oral transmission', an epoch which he viewed as a degeneration of sorts from the original tunes. See Gennrich, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1956), 81–108.
59. Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 14.
60. Andrew Hughes, *Style and Symbol. Medieval Music: 800–1453* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1989), 414 and 413, respectively.
61. Margaret Louise Switten, *The* Cansos *of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985), 4.
62. Mellers, 'The New Troubadours', 10.
63. Cited and translated in Bond, *William*, 139.
64. For more detail, see my 'Living Troubadours and Other Recent Uses of Medieval Music', *Popular Music* 23 (2004).
65. Zuchetto, *Terre des troubadours*; Gérard Zuchetto and Jörn Gruber, *Le livre d'or des troubadours, XIIe–XIVe siècle: anthologie* (Paris: Editions de Paris, 1998). See his discography in Zuchetto, *Terre des troubadours*, 454.
66. 'Les artistes que vous citez me semblent s'identifier à des courants, qu'ils soient musicaux ou sociaux. Pour ma part, je ne sais pas ce qu'est la musique ancienne et je rejette ce vocable qui, hélas, désigne autant les troubadours que J. S. Bach. Hélas pour eux, trop d'ensembles spécialisés dans les musiques du Moyen Age se sont identifiés à une sorte d'imaginaire romantique qui finit par conférer à leur musique un caractère 'ancien', statique, figé, voire ennuyeux – c'est à dire, pour moi, sans recherche personnelle ni création originale.' E-mail correspondance in the spring of 2002.
67. 'Un musicien et auteur dans ce siècle qui, en s'interrogeant, interroge les géniaux troubadours des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, leur vision du monde et des

relations humaines, la dimension philosophique et spirituelle que leur Art de Trobar englobe.'

68. See the entries in Michka Assayas' *Dictionnaire du rock* (Paris: Laffont, 2000), vol. 1, 576–7, and vol. 2, 1121–1122.
69. It is not surprising that Sicre's activity has caught the attention of more than this musicologist. See Gregory Lee, *Troubadours, Trumpeters, Troubled Makers: Lyricism, Nationalism, and Hybridity in China and Its Others* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 167–9, and chapter 8.
70. Assayas, *Dictionnaire du rock*, vol. 2, 1556 and 1560.
71. 'Notre musique est elaborée pour être dans la rue. Elle est prévue pour la participation du public, pour la rue. Le rap est élaboré pour la scène et le disque. Mais notre style à nous est flexible . . . avec une alternance basée sur le souffle'. Interview with Claude Sicre at the Moroquinerie restaurant in Paris (23, rue Boyer) on 11 July 2001; a lengthier account is given in Haines, 'Living Troubadours'.
72. 'Les gens, une fois qu'ils adhèrent, ils sont pris dans un truc qui est bien plus important que le *Massilia Sound System*. Le *chourmo* n'a pas de traduction, c'est pas un fan club; c'est le retour au folklore. . . . On a des rapports très étroits avec notre public. . . . Si on joue devant des mecs assis ou si on fait des vidéos, [ça marche pas]. . . . Une fois que t'as choisi le truc, t'es obligé d'être comme ça – je peux pas imaginer *Massilia* autrement.' All citations are taken from an interview with Tatou at his La Ciotat home on 25 July 2001; see also Haines, 'Living Troubadours'.
73. 'Trobador chante pour l'Amour . . . trobador fait bouléguer tous les posse.'
74. 'Trobadors cantant pertot l'amor dei dònas, sempre cantant la beutat dei vielhas e la dei joinas.'
75. 'Elles ont des pilotis et ça rend tous les garçons fous.'
76. 'Monte va mon vers, ò ragga, cu va saup?'
77. 'Je pense que c'est un truc qu'on a tout le temps fait, la sacralisation des filles. . . . C'est pas un truc qu'on fait sérieusement, on est pas des militants de cette érotique là. Peut-être, moi même je serais content d'en être un, mais c'est vraiment là qu'on ne peut pas être les troubadours.'
78. Daniel Armogathe et Jean-Michel Kasbarian, *Dico marseillais: d'Aïoli à Zou* (Paris: Jeanne Laffitte, 1998), 21: 'Aïollywood, c'est ce que tu voudrais que soit Marseille dans tes rêves, c'est ta mythologie de la ville.'
79. 'Le folklore . . . invente ces personnages, la mal mariée, l'ivrogne, le vagabond, le bossu–on fait ça vachement dans nos chansons. Les pilotis, c'est ça aussi, c'est parce que elle en face, elle sort en pilotis, c'est une starlette à moi.'
80. 'On fantasme sur les troubadours, on s'en sert d'arme culturelle. C'est notre monument de notre culture, donc, c'est nous les responsables des troubadours. À la rigeur, il n'y a que nous qui en avons le droit d'en parler, parce que c'est notre machin, c'est notre truc, et donc on a le droit d'en fantasmer dessus et d'en faire des stars, des types très importants, des rappeurs à casquette.'
81. See their album *3928 CR 13* (470004-HM79, Harmonia mundi, 2000), track 10.

82. The last part of the *vida* is recited by Sicre on *Massilia*'s *3968 CR 13*, track 12; the full version is published in Claude Sicre's *High Tençon: textes, chansons et commentaires* (Paris: Syllepse, 2000), 60–9.
83. 'Massilia Soun Sistemà si furent et sempre sont un groupe de joglars de la ville de Marsiha. . . . Et le Massilia ne mourût jamais, car ses pionniers formèrent des jeunes qui les relayèrent dans le même esprit, et ces jeunes formèrent à leur tour d'autres jeunes, cependant que les anciens composaient toujours pour le groupe et montaient sur scène quand ils en avaient envie, Et ainsi Massilia Sound System exista pour les siècles des siècles, jusqu'à la fin des Temps, Et tout ce que je raconte ici je le sais pour l'avoir vécu de près et vu et entendu et compris comme il fallait' (Sicre, *High Tençon*, 68–9).

CHAPTER 7

Epilogue

The visitor to Provins' *ville haute* today will find a city filled with remarkably well-preserved medieval monuments, several inaugurated under the initiative of Thibaut, Fourth Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, Provins' native son and the man whose reign marks that city's high point in the Middle Ages.[1] Thibaut began constructing the city walls, founded the Couvent des Cordelières, and was largely responsible for Provins' great fame as a textile and trading centre, thanks in part to its biannual fairs, the 'foires de Provins'. To this day, the city remains proud of its most famous ruler. In the Church of Sainte Quiriace still stands a baptismal font into which it is said that King Philippe Auguste lowered the child Thibaut; in shops throughout the city is sold candy which is named after the famous rose which Thibaut is said to have brought back from the Orient for Queen Blanche. In these and many other ways, on practically every street, the strolling visitor can find reminders of 'Thibaut le Chansonnier' under whose rule Provins became a major medieval commercial and artistic centre.

Did Thibaut write his songs on his palace walls, as Claude Fauchet and others after him claimed? And if so, do any remnants of these remain in Provins today? The legend has long been abandoned by historians as apocryphal (indeed, few now even appear to know that such a debate ever took place), and any questions surrounding it have not received serious attention for some time. Yet given the story's importance in the reception of trouvère song, what little evidence exists today for Fauchet's claims deserves to be mentioned.

Over the centuries, what was called the Palais des Comtes encompassed both the present-day palace and a separate tower known as the Tour du Comte, built by Thibaut's grandfather Henry the Liberal in the late twelfth century and now known as the Tour de César. Over the centuries, it was used in many capacities, from storage area to prison. By the early seventeenth century, it had fallen into such serious disrepair that Provins' mayor at

the time, François de Beaufort, initiated a major restoration work which would continue until the nineteenth century. It was just before Beaufort's time, at the point of the tower's greatest deterioration and prior to its restoration, that Claude Fauchet reported having seen 'remainders of them [i.e., Thibaut's songs] painted on the castle of Provins, in the prison' ('à l'endroit de la prison') in the late sixteenth century. The prison spoken of was more than likely the Tour César, since this was the only prison associated with the count's palace down the road. Fauchet's report betrays an unwarranted belief, for this would have hardly been the place for a lord to compose songs, let alone write them on the walls. The more likely explanation is that he mistranslated the *Chroniques de France*'s 'en la salle a Provins', and then Fauchet looked for evidence which would substantiate his interpretation. The chronicle's most straightforward translation and the one most often given today is provided in chapter 2: 'Thibaut wrote his songs in his Palace at Provins and Troyes' (p. 56). Even if Fauchet had seen writing in the sixteenth century, it would have long since disappeared. Today, the tower walls, many times renovated and cleaned since Thibaut's time, bear no trace of writing, as any visitor can witness (figure 7.1).

If our Provins visitor, undaunted by such evidence, nonetheless persists in seeking the most likely site for Fauchet's apparent misinterpretation of the medieval *Chroniques*, she will likely head in the direction of what was once the count's palace and Thibaut's primary residence in Provins, now the Lycée Thibaut de Champagne.[2] Unfortunately, precious little remains here of the original palace which Thibaut's grandfather Henry the Liberal built in the late twelfth century. The visitor allowed inside the lycée will find an impressive if not typical school building, a large courtyard surrounded by buildings on all four sides. The south facing wall closest to the entrance houses the administrative offices, the student refectory and the kitchen, from west to east. In the refectory stands a statue of Thibaut IV de Champagne dating from the twentieth century (figure 7.2).

Adjoining the kitchen at the south wall's outer corner is a small chapel which one visitor in the early nineteenth century suggested as a possible location for Thibaut's wall adornments. 'Perhaps it was here', wrote Félix Bourquelot in 1839, 'on these walls covered with white-wash, or on the glass of these windows disfigured by modern embellishments that Thibaut le Chansonnier had his love poems painted!'[3] More than likely, this was the room Paulmy had in mind when he wrote in the late eighteenth century of 'a vault now used as a prison, which supposedly was once part of the other room' where 'there appear to be on the walls letters and musical notes which people claim are the remains of the songs of Thibaut and his artistic

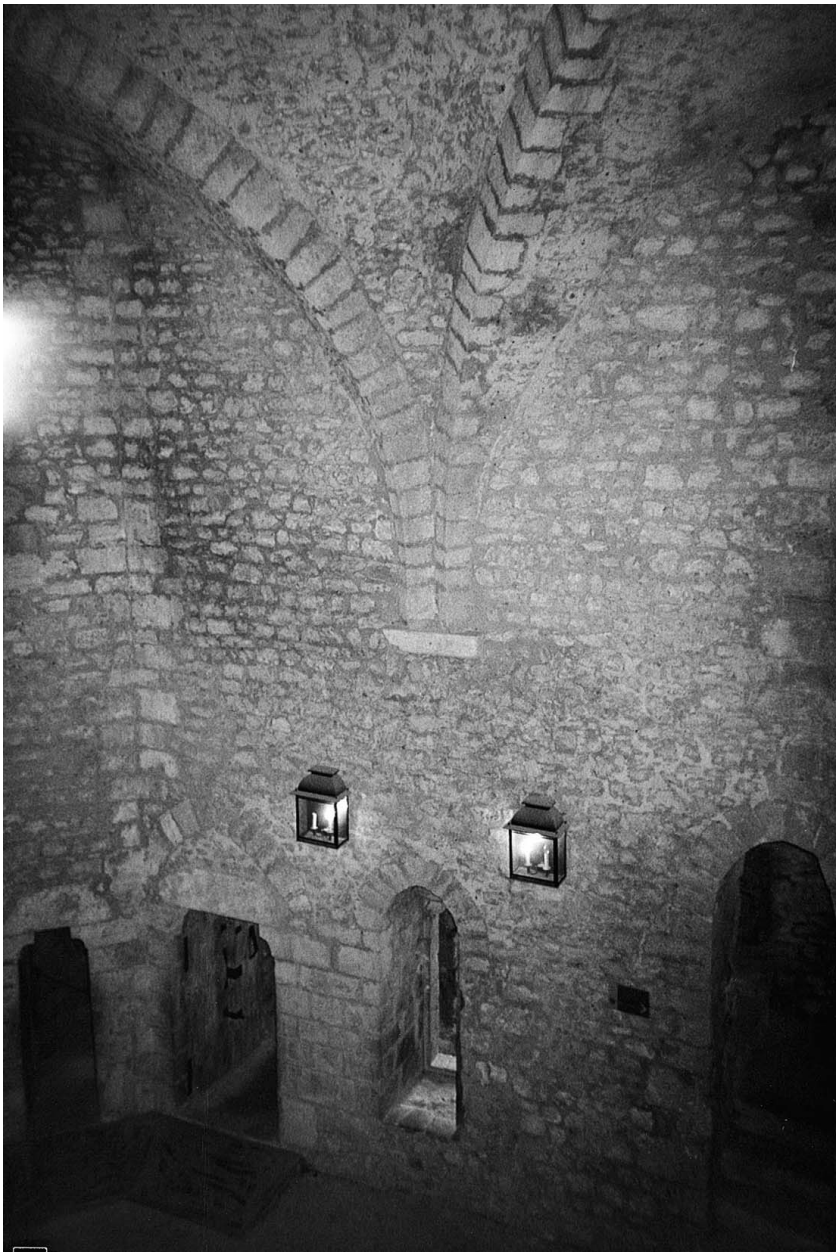


Figure 7.1: Provins, Tour de César, lower level



Figure 7.2: Provins, Lycée Thibaut de Champagne, student refectory

comrades' (chapter 3, p. 106). However, no evidence survives today on the walls of this dank room currently used for student group rehearsals (figure 7.3).

The east-facing wall was, at the time of my writing, sealed off for reconstruction. Jutting from its northern-most corner is the only remaining wall from Thibaut's original palace – more accurately the crumbling remains of a wall, grown over with ivy which has nearly covered its sole surviving window (figure 7.4). One legend has it that Thibaut was leaning out of this window one night when he was visited by Saint Catherine who ordered him to build the Couvent des Cordelières.[4] During my recent visit, I was informed that plans were under way for the restoration of this last standing



Figure 7.3: Provins, Lycée Thibaut de Champagne, chapel next to kitchen



Figure 7.4: Provins, Lycée Thibaut Champagne, north-east corner wall

wall of the medieval palace.[5] A closer look at the window reveals an interesting detail. Barely visible around the window's inner arch are traces in dark red of what was once some sort of wall painting, although even its general outline is now hard to decipher.

Many of the legends reviewed in this book which have successfully maintained the reputation of the troubadours and trouvères are both as durable and altered as this north-east corner wall. The story of Thibaut's songs written on his palace walls, for instance, remained a point of some contention from Fauchet's time until the nineteenth century. The Provins traveller looking for archaeological remnants to support this legend today will probably be disappointed, for it is unlikely that the few remaining paint marks constitute any sort of proof, although this site has yet to undergo thorough archaeological investigation. Perhaps if Claude Fauchet were alive and walking in Provins today, he might take this window and its paint marks as the very evidence he was seeking. Or at least, it would not surprise us if he did. For such an optimistic vision of the extant medieval evidence has been characteristic of the various interpreters of troubadour and trouvère song surveyed in this book. More often than not, they have taken the evidence selectively, seeing what they wished to see and ignoring whatever evidence (or lack of it) ran counter to an idiomatic and often highly personal vision of the Middle Ages. In this way, the silent palace window at Provins, with its dubious link to ancient song, is the perfect architectural counterpart to the troubadour and trouvère chansonniers, whose host of interpreters over eight centuries offer us the vast panorama of the changing identity of medieval music.

NOTES

1. I am especially grateful to Véronique Le Foll of the Provins Office de Tourisme for her generous assistance during my visit to Provins in July 2001.
2. I would like to thank Gérard Lobot, principal of the Lycée Thibaut Champagne in Provins, for his assistance and permission for the following.
3. Félix Bourquelot, *Histoire de Provins* (Provins: Lebeau, 1839–40), vol. 1, 380–1.
4. Patrice-Loup Rifaux and Jean-François Bénard, *Provins médiéval* (Provins: La Lézarde, 1996), 104–5, with a colour photograph of this wall.
5. See Jean Mesqui and Pierre Bénard, 'La splendeur inscrite dans la pierre (12e et 14e siècles)', in *Histoire de Provins et de sa région*, ed. Michel Veissière (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), 138.

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